GOD'S BATTLE WITH THE MONSTER:
A STUDY IN BIBLICAL IMAGERY

A Dissertation

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CHAPTER I

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF NEAR EASTERN MYTHS RELATING TO THE BATTLE

Introduction

Discoveries at Ugarit reawakened interest in the biblical references to the primeval monster(s) of chaos which Hermann Gunkel discussed so provocatively in 1895 in his Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit.[1] At that time, he accepted the identification of the various monsters Rahab, Leviathan, Tannin, with the sea,[2] and two versions of the myth of the battle in which Yahweh broke the power of the sea-monster were distinguished on the basis of the fate of the monster.[3] Some sources say he was killed, some say he was captured. Gunkel proved that the battle was connected with creation,[4] and came to have eschatological significance as an allegory of the battle that would precede the New Age.[5]

Since the publication of the Ugaritic texts the question of the number of monsters and their relation to the sea has been reopened; and the essential relation between the battle and creation has been questioned. Study of the issues involved convinced me that a new approach to the myth of the battle with the monster was necessary if these questions were to be resolved. We must make an attempt to understand what the myth means--what it is about, in the broadest perspective of ancient Near Eastern culture, before the significance of its remnants as they appear in the Bible can be fully appreciated.

The heart of the thesis is the analysis of the biblical texts that unquestionably refer to the myth, that appears in section one of chapter two. The research began here, and out of it arose the questions which directed the work of chapter one. On the correct understanding of these biblical passages depends our knowledge of the form in which the myth was known in Israel. With the conclusions drawn from this analysis as our starting point, other passages which reflect the myth less directly are examined in the succeeding sections of chapter two. Taking account of the known anti-mythological tendency of the biblical writers, our effort was to recover as much as possible of the vitality of the myth that survived its transmogrification in the service of Israel.

It is hoped that the concluding chapter, by providing a summary of the opinions of other scholars, will serve to place this effort in the context of scholarly discussion of this problem.

Chapter one, then, is a preliminary essay which is intended to serve as a theoretical introduction to the main body of the thesis. Here, I have attempted to arrive at a general understanding of what the myth of a battle between monster and god is about. I have gathered together many different versions from diverse sources, on the theory that the greater the variety of versions that are brought into relation, the less will be the danger of missing the main point. Since there may be a difference of opinion on how one goes about discovering what a myth means, I should like to set forth at the outset my working assumptions.

First of all, it is assumed that the myth was taken seriously by intelligent men; that the problems of being human have not changed fundamentally; that the myth deals with fundamental problems and therefore remains intelligible. Secondly, it is assumed that myths in their relation to ritual serve to insure the stability of the social order by providing specific symbolic forms for the expression of common anxieties. So long as the world view assumed by the myth satisfactorily accommodates or takes into account the apparent realities while relieving tensions aroused by them, it is a cohesive force, providing a basis for a strong culture. Should that "world view" slip radically out of line with the general experience of "the way things are," it would cease to be effective for cultural cohesion.[6] It is in terms of this social function of myth (as it is associated with ritual) that the meaning of the monster-battle will be defined.

The third assumption, which will be qualified as the analysis proceeds, is that in spite of their great variety, all the battle myths are "about the same thing." As Lévi-

Strauss says, "the purpose of myth is to provide a logical model capable of overcoming a contradiction (an impossible achievement if, as it happens, the contradiction is real)."[7] Therefore myths grow spiral-wise, continuously, but the structure remains discontinuous (like a crystal). So long as the myth is alive, it is changing, even appearing in several very different forms simultaneously, while it is still felt as the same myth. The myth consists of all of its versions.[8]

And finally, it is assumed that it is possible to arrive at an understanding of the meaning of a myth by focusing on the dynamics of it: on what happens, regardless of the particulars. Whether we are talking about animals, heavenly bodies, families, the focus is on the crucial action which informs the myth. "Narration adds a new stage of meaning to primary symbols."[9] "The myth performs its symbolic function by the specific means of narration because what it wants to express is already a drama."[10] The structure of the narrative is our best key to its meaning. In sum: The myth is intelligible because it systematizes the approach to a problem that is revealed to us in the system. We discover "what happens" by abstracting from two or more versions of the story a generalized framework, and then seeing how the next story fits or fails to fit it. The framework is a device for bringing dissimilar stories into relation in a specific way; the aim in aligning them is to allow the essential structure of the battle myth to emerge from the varying details, so that something can be said about the meaning of that structure in particular.

I have made no attempt to establish lines of dependence or even direct relationship between the myths of the various cultures considered, and the chronological spread of the textual sources is broad. Though I do not subscribe to Jung's theory of "the collective unconscious," I do feel that Beowulf's Grendel, for example, or even the dragons of Chinese mythology, might contribute valuable evidence to the present analysis. The choice of material for the comparative section is admittedly somewhat arbitrary. Enough relationship exists so that cultural transmission as a way of accounting for specific similarities is not entirely out of the question--but this point is not essential to the main thesis.

The myths summarized below have been selected to demonstrate the range of expression of the core meaning of the battle with a monster.[11] Sumerian, Indian, Hittite, Akkadian, Greek, Egyptian and Canaanite traditions are represented. The procedure has been to use Kramer's Mythologies of the Ancient World[12] as a guideline, and to base the summaries on recognized translations of the primary texts (most often, those included in ANET).[13] I wish to start by presenting just two myths, from the traditions of Summer, and India, to illustrate the method of analysis, and describe a preliminary model.

Section 1: The Space Model

Ninurta vs. Asag

There is a Sumerian epic entitled "Lugal-e u me-lám-bi nir-gál" or "The Feats and Exploits of Ninurta."[14] Ninurta, who is the son of Enlil (the separator of heaven and earth) is god of the stormy south wind. He is encouraged by his weapon, Sharur, to attack and destroy Asag, the demon ("of sickness and disease") whose abode is the Kur.[15] At first Ninurta runs in fear. Returning, he destroys Asag, but the result is that the primeval waters of the Kur flood the fields, preventing cultivation. Now Ninurta heaps up a wall of stones over the Kur to hold back the waters, and proceeds to gather the flood into a river. "What had been scattered he gathered, what of the Kur had been scattered, he guided and hurled into the Tigris"[16] and the land prospered. Ninurta's deeds move his mother (Ninmah, or Ki, "mother earth") with compassion[17] for him. In appreciation for her willingness to enter "an inimical land" he makes her queen of the mountain (hursag) he has created, and blesses it with productivity. Then he blesses or curses the stones according to whether they fought for or against him in the battle. As a reward of victory, Ninurta is awarded kingship of the gods by Anu.[18]

Summary

Asag, the underworld demon, restrains the waters.

The hero Ninurta overpowers the demon, but the result is uncontrolled outpouring of waters which are then shored up and channelled by the hero, by means of a heap of stones. Asag's form and ultimate fate are unclear. "The myth seems to treat of him in human terms but gives no definite clue to his shape."[19] The cursed stones, however, were part of the inimical force. The heap which is bequeathed to the mother goddess and blessed with fertility consists of both benevolent and malevolent material.[20]

Interpretation

Jacobsen believes that Asag typifies the frigid cold of winter; Ninurta, the forces of spring. The battle in the mountains represents the thunderstorms which herald the Mesopotamian spring; the flood is caused by the snow melting in the mountains. This interpretation of the myth as a dramatic representation of seasonal change fits very well the sequence of actions. In the Odyssey, Athene says to Odysseus as she reveals to him the landscape of Ithaka, "And there Mount Neion with his forest on his back."[21] A mountain is someone humped up. Streams ordinarily flow down his sides, but when water fails, Mt. so-and-so is withholding the waters. At this, the god becomes angry and strikes his back with a thunderbolt which splits him open, allowing the waters to flow. This is what happens every spring. And in fact the seasonal pattern which serves as a key to the form of much Near Eastern myth and ritual is taken for granted by many scholars[22] as the "answer" to the question of meaning. While I do not deny that the symbolism of the myths refers to events in nature, I hope to suggest further dimensions of significance that give vitality to the myth regardless of natural conditions.

Indra vs. Vritra[23]

Of the other demons who engage in combat, Vritra in the Vedic hymns is closest in character and function to Asag. The hero is Indra, who like Enlil, the "father" of Ninurta, is responsible for the separation of heaven and earth, his parents. On condition that he become their king he accepts the championship of the Adityas against the Danavas. These two groups together make up the Asuras or "living powers" in Vedic mythology. Tvashtri, the smith, gives Indra a weapon (a lightning bolt) with which to attack Vritra, who is described as a serpent lying upon the mountains. He breaks his back and/or bursts his belly, or, he splits open the mountains, with the result that the cosmic waters confined within Vritra are released. At the same time the sun, with which the waters had been pregnant, is "born." The water, light and heat provide the necessaries for creation, which then begins with the separation of the Sat ("existent") from the Asat ("non-existent"), the region of demons which is cold, dark and dry. The Sat is put in order and set operating according to rule. Most of this action is referred to in the famous hymn to Indra from the Rig Veda, I, 32:

1. I will proclaim the manly deeds of Indra,
The first that he performed, the lightning wielder.
He slew the serpent, then discharged the waters,
And cleft the caverns of the lofty mountains.

2. He slew the serpent lying on the mountain:
For him the whizzing bolt has Tvaṣṭar fashioned.
Like lowing cows, with rapid current flowing,
The waters to the ocean down have glided.

. . . .

4. When thou hadst slain the first-born of the serpents,
And thwarted all the wiles of crafty schemers,
Anon disclosing sun, and dawn, and heaven,
Thou truly foundest not a foe, O Indra.

. . . .

6.4. The foe of Indra, falling, crushed the channel.

7. Footless and handless he with Indra battled,
Who smote him then upon his back with lightning.
But, impotent, he strove to match the hero:
He lay with scattered limbs in many places.

8. As thus he lay, like broken reed, the waters,
Now courage taking, surge across his body.
He lies beneath the very feet of rivers
Which Vritra with his might had close encompassed.

. . . .

10. The waters deep have hidden Vritra's body,
. . . .
. . . .
Indra's fierce foe sank down to lasting darkness.

11. . . . .
. . . .
The waters' orifice that was obstructed
When Vritra he had smitten, Indra opened.

12.4. The bounteous god gained victory forever.[24]

Another hymn (II, 12) speaks of Indra as he

2.2-4. Who set at rest the agitated mountains,
Who measured out air's middle space more widely,
Who gave the sky support . . .

3.1,2. Who slew the serpent, freed the seven rivers,
Who drove the cattle out from Vala's cavern,

. . . .

7.3,4. Who has generated sun and morning,
Who leads the waters . . .

. . . .

12.1,2. Who with his seven rays, the bull, the mighty,
Let loose the seven streams to flow in torrents.[25]

In the Satapatha-Brâhmana the tale is told of how Indra had offended Tvashtri by cutting off the three heads of his son. In retaliation, Tvashtri created Vritra, a serpent who "forced back both the Western ocean and the Eastern one." Indra engages him and "Now Vritra, on being struck, lay contracted like a leather bottle drained of its contents." As Indra rushed to slay him, he begged, "'Do not hurl (thy thunderbolt) at me! Thou art now what I (was before). Only cut me in twain, but do not let me be annihilated!' He (Indra) said, 'Thou shalt be my food' . . . He accordingly cut him in twain."[26] The mark of Indra's coming-of-age is his effective use of the lightning bolt on the mountain back. The consequences of Indra's victory are that, once the waters, dawns and sun are released, the cosmos and chaos are separated and the sun started up (II, 15), supports are provided for the sky and the earth is spread out (VI, 72). Water, who had been the wife of Vritra, now becomes the wife of Indra who fertilizes her (V, 30; VIII, 15). Indra drives the waters to their place in the atmospheric ocean (I, 32). He scatters darkness (V, 31, 3).[27]

Summary

Vritra has the power to restrain the waters. He must be vanquished to release them, by Indra, who expands, separating earth and heaven. Vritra begs to be separated but not annihilated. The net result is that the waters flow, but in their proper channels.

Comparison

The Indian myth is similar to the Sumerian in that the result of victory over the demon is the release of water. It differs in that Indra encounters no resistance as he leads the waters like cows to their place in the atmospheric ocean, whereas the water is destructive until it is brought under control by Ninurta. The means by which Ninurta controls the waters is a creative act: construction of the earth-mound (*hursag*); the relation the battle has to creation is explicit in the Vedic hymns where the materials necessary for the construction of the cosmos had been contained by the demon. The name Vritra means "covering." He is a Danava, a word derived from a root meaning to bind, restrain. Jacobsen notes that "A-sag, literally 'the one who smites the arm,' corresponds to Akkadian Kamu, 'the one who binds,' 'the one who lames.'"[28] The idea of a restraining will seems to be implied by both names.

Analysis

In both of these stories, what makes Indra and Ninurta heroes is the act of releasing the waters, first of all (and most clearly in the second myth) and secondly, of controlling them (the stone heap). Why are those heroic acts? What is the water? And what is the motive of the villain? The shape of the stories is close enough to suggest that the first should be read again in the light of the second, and it becomes apparent that more is going on than a change of season. It is clear that in the second myth, creation, as a separating out of parts and regulation of their movement follows and is dependent upon the victory. Ninurta, too, arranges the parts of his universe: he gathers the waters that had been scattered into useable streams. The stone heap which is blessed with fertility takes the place of Asag as a restrainer, and it retains some elements of his nature (the cursed stones). Vritra begs to be split in two rather than annihilated; his body becomes food. In both cases, he who encloses the waters is inimical as he represses life-force, imposes rigid form, opposes growth and change. For there to be growth, which implies ordered change, amorphous force must be released and then to some degree controlled. So we have here represented, between the two myths, the destructive extremes of inertia and violent movement (only the first of which is personified) and the mean of constructive mediation of flow.

Preliminary Conclusion

The conflict is over the control of vital energy. The direction of activity after the victory is toward form; from wet to dry, chaos to order, free to bound energy, so that we may foresee a recurrence of the opening situation (either next year, or preceding the next aeon), the stone heap becoming "Asag," the limbs of Vritra reassembling into a single impermeable body.

Before passing on to the Akkadian epic where the relation of the defeat of the monster to creation is most fully explained, I would like to take a look at some lesser myths, each of which demonstrates in a different way the underlying theme of withholding that seems to be a constant factor no matter what form the monster takes.

There is a story from the Vishnu Purana (V. 7.) which should perhaps be classified as a heroic tale rather than a myth (since the protagonist is half-mortal). However, it serves as a representative of the widespread story of a viper who guards the local water supply, and the setting makes clear how this story fits into the mythological scheme.

Krishna vs. Kaliya[29]

At the close of the Yuga (or age) just preceding our own, demons prevailed over gods, bringing injustice and disorder, until the goddess Earth begged the assembly of the gods to relieve her "or I shall sink to the bottom of the Abyss."[30] To save the earth from the demon king, Kamsa, Vishnu sends two of his hairs to become Krishna and his brother Balarama (by mortal women). Among the adventures of the young Krishna in contest with the various forms of Kamsa, is one in which he overcomes a noxious serpent named Kaliya who, with his subordinates, has spoiled the local water source with his poison, and burned the surrounding trees with his fiery breath. Krishna jumps into the stream (the flaming water, splashing, sets the trees on fire) and is at first entangled in the coils of Kaliya. However, his brother reminds him of his divine powers whereupon he bursts the coils, and tramples on the serpent's neck and head, and nearly kills him. Kaliya persuades him to spare his life by reminding him (who is Vishnu) that he, Kaliya, has only acted according to the "laws laid down by you for every creature according to its kind." Krishna banishes him to the vast ocean and the water of the river becomes good again.

Summary

The waters are rendered unusable by a fiery demon whose strength is broken by the hero so that the waters are restored.[31] Krishna has effected a boundary settlement: Kaliya is assigned a remoter sphere, but allowed to remain unchanged in nature and power, because the serpent and the savior are manifestations of but one divine substance. Now this story has no relation to creation, except in the most general sense that Vishnu has prevented Kamsa from taking control, to undo the created order. But the demon's power is expressed, again, as a withholding of resources.

The Labbu[32]

The Akkadian Labbu is another local menace, who appears as a huge serpent. The gods plead with the moon-god, Sin, to send someone to slay the Labbu who has been devouring everything. The one who delivers the wide land from him will exercise kingship over all. The hero created a storm, shot off an arrow and slew the Labbu. The immediate result was that the blood of the Labbu flowed for three years, three months, a day and a night.

Summary

A repressive monster is vanquished with the result that vital fluids are released. The rest of the story is lost so there is no way of knowing whether and in what form control was exercised.

Zu[33]

Different in form and force, but partaking also of the "Kamsa" nature is the Akkadian Zu, "The thief of the mountain" who has stolen the tablets of destiny so that he may become king of the gods. He flies off to his mountain with the tablets, with the effect that "the norms were suspended," "stillness spread abroad, silence prevailed. The sanctuary took off its brightness." The gods gathered to elect a champion. In the older version, the champion is one who will bring forth light and make Zu carry off darkness.[34] He raised storm winds against Zu "whose vigor sank." The end is lost; in a hymn of Ashurbanipal, Marduk is called "the one who crushed the skull of Zu."

Summary

Having stolen the power to issue decrees, Zu does not exercise it, with the result that darkness prevails, nothing moves or makes a sound. The mountain and the storm remind us of the first story about the spring rains; however the world seems to be suffering not so much from drought as from the absence of the sun. But the focus is on neither darkness nor drought, but the failure of government. What is being withheld is operation according to law.

Hahhimas[35]

Included in the Hittite material is a fragment known as the Yuzgat Tablet which preserves a story[36] about a monstrous demon (of indeterminate shape). Hahhimas "has paralyzed the whole earth, he has dried up the waters." The weather god's sister has appealed to him to relieve the situation, which he attempts to do by sending first the wind, and then the sun (who is missing) and finally his son Telipinu, the spirit of vegetation. Hahhimas seizes him as he had the other messengers, so the weather god sends the Great Goddess (and an escort) who are apparently successful in breaking Hahhimas' hold (the text is lost) because the ritual with which this myth is associated involves offerings to the sun and Telipinu, jointly.

Summary

The enemy is a preventor of fertility and growth. The outcome of the conflict is the release of the sun and Telipinu: vegetation (not water); Hahhimas is not engaged in battle but apparently submits to feminine charms.

Apophis

The serpent on the mountain who would, if he could, hold back the sun is represented by Apophis in Egyptian tradition. He personifies the powers of darkness and has to be overcome at dawn and sunset every day. Among the spells to protect the dead against serpents is a statement that a serpent lies on the western mountain awaiting the arrival of the sun barque. When the crew becomes confused by the fascinating gaze of the serpent, Seth, who is among them, speaks magically to the serpent to break his power: "Thou art in thy fetters." The spell concludes, in reassurance of the soul that identifies with Re, that "Re goes to rest in life."[37]

Seth defends Re against Apophis again at dawn. Seth threatens, "Back villain! Plunge into the depths of the Abyss." The gates of the horizon open for Re to appear. Apophis promises not to resist, and Seth calls for ropes. However, rather than just leaving him bound, Seth cuts off his head, hacks it in pieces and throws it away. "Your head is crushed, O Groundling! Your bones are broken up and your flesh cut in pieces."[38]

The Bremner Rhind Papyrus of 310 B.C. preserves a very old ritual for "overthrowing Apophis, the enemy of Re" in which the victory is associated with creation. Prefaced by an account in the first person of the sequence of creation by Khepri (the morning sun) is a statement that Khepri has cursed Apophis, annihilated his soul in the course of every day. A detailed account of his dismemberment follows, and an invocation to Re to "Cross thy two heavens in peace."[39]

Summary

The sun travels in a barque through the ocean which surrounds the world. It enters and leaves the cosmos through the gates of the horizon to East and West. The critical nature of this boundary between light and dark is represented by a serpent, who is regularly intimidated. What is particularly clear in this story is the regular recurrence of "the creation," and, as a corollary, the ambiguity of the monster's fate. That he is said to have been bound may be evidence of the embarrassment occasioned by the fact that though he is killed, he must be faced again next day.

Conclusion

Preliminary conclusions about the character of the monster arrived at from a comparison of Asag and Vritra have been confirmed and extended by the succeeding material. The repressive nature of the monster may be expressed not only in terms of withholding water, and the sun, but also of spoiling the local fresh water, stopping the regulated movements of the heavenly bodies, preventing fertility and growth, obstructing passage from one stage to another (Apophis is as unwilling to let the sun set, as to let it rise).

The assertion that the victory over the monster is the necessary preliminary to creation, suggested by Indra's activity, needs firmer grounding. Or, to put it in the form of a question, can we justify the conclusion[40] that Ninurta's building of the stone heap is creative activity analogous to Indra's separating out of parts and regulation of their movement?

Marduk vs. Tiamat[41]

The Tiamat myth combines many of the elements of the myths discussed above. It provides a fuller, more complex picture than any except perhaps the Vedic hymns. This fullness allows one to look at the action from various angles, and to formulate a more complex idea of the total system. The description of the first two myths as presenting "the destructive extremes of inertia and violent movement, and the mean of constructive mediation of flow" can be illustrated by means of a series of pictures which demonstrate in one coherent space model the action as the myth expresses it.

Since this story is longer, and better known than the others, my paraphrase of it will be more free, in the sense of being more interpretive. The primeval waters can be differentiated into male and female, Apsu and Tiamat, generators of everything. What is generated, however, breaks the peace of primal inertia. The father wishes to annihilate his offspring and so to prevent succession of generations. The mother defends her young: "Why should we destroy that which we ourselves have brought forth?" (EE I:45) The progeny take the offensive position, finding a champion in Ea, the son of Anu the son of Anshar and Kishar, the heavenly and earthly horizons, respectively.[42] By holy incantation Ea establishes a magic circle (devises a master design, I:61) upon the waters, and puts Apsu to sleep. That is, by superior force of will, he makes firm his claim to existence within or upon the subterranean waters. A boundary between being and non-being has been defined. "When he had thus subdued Apsu, he slew him. Mummu he shut in (and) barred (the door) against him. On Apsu he established his dwelling place; Mummu he seized for himself, holding (him) by his nose rope." (I:69) Apsu is dead, as an opposing will. What he controlled is now in Ea's command, as Mummu who was Apsu's vizier has been impressed into his service.

Having established himself in residence, Ea and his wife produce Marduk, or in the older versions of the story, Enlil,[43] to whom is ascribed the prime creative act of separating the heaven and the earth. Marduk has twice the ordinary pairs of sensory equipment, breathes fire, and is gigantic, all of which characteristics he shares with the monster; he is acclaimed as the sun god (I:95f.). Now as the story resumes the antagonist is Tiamat. Urged on by her company to put an end to the commotion that is developing--they complain that they can't get any sleep--she makes her preparations. She bears monster poisonous serpents and roaring dragons, "the great lion, the mad dog, and the scorpion-man."[44]

The technique that Ea employed against Apsu is ineffectual against Tiamat, so Marduk sets out in a storm chariot, to "trample upon the neck of Tiamat," (II:113) and "quiet her with a holy incantation," (II:117) having first secured for himself the kingship of the gods. Like Tiamat's demons, Marduk's team are "sharp of tooth, bearing poison" and Marduk himself wears "terror inspiring splendor" (IV:58) on his head, like the "fear-inspiring glory" (I:137) with which Tiamat crowns her dragons. The first sight of the enemy distracts and confuses Marduk[45] but he regains his determination as she taunts him and he proclaims her guilty of crimes which reveal her total disregard for the foundations of social order: at her instigation, sons reject their fathers (IV:79); she has allowed Kingu to usurp the legitimate authority of Anu (IV:81f.).

When Marduk proposes that the two of them fight it out alone, Tiamat roars furiously; "to the (very) roots her two legs shook back and forth." (IV:90) But her magic spells are ineffectual, and Marduk enmeshes her. "When Tiamat opened her mouth to devour him, he drove in the evil wind, in order that (she should) not (be able) to close her lips." (IV:97f.) An arrow splits her heart; "when he had subdued her, he destroyed her life." (IV:103) Her helpers are imprisoned, the demons "trampled underfoot," Kingu bound. Returning to Tiamat, Marduk trod on her legs (Speiser), crushed her skull, cut her arteries, and the winds carried her blood away. Next he decided to split her dead body like a mussel (IV:128). "Half of her he set in place and formed the sky (therewith) as a roof. He fixed the crossbar (and) posted guards; he commanded them not to let her waters escape." (IV:138-140) By propping her mouth open with a crossbar and posting guards, Marduk created a structure ("Apsu's counterpart") by means of which he could contain her, while having access to her good.

Kramer's summary of this action is typical of commentaries both ancient and modern on Enuma Elish. "Following this victory, Marduk created heaven and earth from Tiamat's huge corpse by splitting it in two."[46] Cassuto observes, "In the Greek summary of the myth by the Babylonian priest Berossus, it is clearly stated that the god Bel, that is, Marduk, sliced the body of Thamte (Tiamat, Tâmtu) into two, and of the one half he formed the earth and of the other half the heavens."[47] But the text does not say what, if anything, Marduk made out of the other half! The translations of Heidel and Speiser are essentially in agreement here in understanding the following description as an elaboration on IV:138: Marduk established a great canopy, Esharra, opposite to and as a counterpart to the Apsu (the earth, including the subterranean waters, i.e. Ea). In his effort to maintain the symmetry of the two halves, Jastrow understands Esharra to be a poetic term for earth, and explains that it lies over the Apsu and corresponds in shape to heaven.[48] But in what sense can it then be spoken of as a canopy? Jacobsen ignores the other half: "As Ea after his victory over Apsu had built his abode on the body of his dead opponent, so now Marduk builds his abode on that part of Tiamat's body which he has made into the sky. By measuring he makes certain that it comes directly opposite Ea's dwelling to form a counterpart of it."[49] The tablet ends: "Anu, Enlil, and Ea he made occupy their places," (IV:145) namely the heaven, the space between, and the earth, respectively.

During the recital of his fifty names it is mentioned that Marduk scatters his enemies to the winds (VII:44), opens the fountains and apportions the waters (VII:59), heaped up a mountain over Tiamat (VII:70). As the sun, he "crosses over the wide sea (Tiamat) in his anger as a bridge passes over the place of conflict . . . The sea (Tiamat) is his craft upon which he rides." (VII:74f.) He is "the creator of the gods, his fathers," (VII:97) "the Enlil of the gods." (VII:149)

Analysis

This is the (selective) paraphrase of the Babylonian epic of creation. Before making an illustrated analysis of it we must consider whether it is one story, or a combination of two structurally separate accounts of creation, following victories over Apsu and Tiamat respectively. Several disharmonies lead me to prefer the second alternative. 1) It is unusual that the primeval waters should be differentiated into male and female. 2) The way

Ea disposes of Apsu represents a resolution that is recognizable as a type and that differs from the type of resolution that is represented by Tiamat's disposition. Ea is the "Sat" that has been separated from the "Asat" by Indra. He has effected a boundary settlement, as Krishna did; he is the cosmos conceived as the earth-mound emerging from the primeval waters, like Atum in the Egyptian Pyramid Texts (2300 B.C.). Atum says,

> I am the outflow of the Primeval Flood, he who emerged from the waters.[50] I extended everywhere, in accordance with what was to come into existence . . . I bent right around myself, I was encircled in my coils, one who made a place for himself in the midst of his coils. His utterance was what came forth from his own mouth.[51]

The coiled serpent is the boundary (Kishar) but also what it encloses; it contains all existing things. At the end of time, Atum will revert to a line once more, a form without content, when the space it encloses or place it defines dissolves. From the Book of the Dead, Ch. 175, Atum to Osiris:

> In the end I will destroy everything that I have created, the earth will become again part of the Primeval Ocean, like the Abyss of waters in their original state. Then I will be what will remain . . . when I will have changed myself back into the old serpent . . . [i.e. the mere boundary].[52]

In this first part of Enuma Elish the formless chaos remains separate and is referred to as a place. There really is no battle in the Ea/Apsu story. The conflict of generations expresses the tension between action and inertia.[53]

Tiamat, in contrast, does not remain separate but is the stuff of which the cosmos is made. The two different types of creation story, one in which power is harnessed, the other in which material is given new shape, are included in Enuma Elish for the same reason that the two accounts of creation are included in the Book of Genesis: both are sacred knowledge; both contribute to understanding, in significantly different ways.

The two stories are made complimentary, in the idea that Tiamat and Apsu are female and male, respectively, or, that they represent salt and sweet waters. Tiamat is the primeval ocean which surrounds the universe,[54] while Apsu is the subterranean waters that feed the springs and rivers. But already there is a difficulty: even if we distinguish the source of the earth's oceans from that of its rivers, the rain that falls from the heavenly ocean is not salty! The attempt to coordinate what are originally separate accounts of creation is most awkward in IV:128f., where reference to the halves of Tiamat implies that there is a continuity between the waters above and the waters below. There is evidence in the epic that Tiamat is the whole body of water, above, below and to either side: Marduk, as the sun, travels across her (VII:74f.); having posted guards not to let her waters escape (IV:140), "he opened gates on both sides, and made strong locks to the left and to the right" (V:9-10) for himself to pass through morning and evening; and he heaped up a mountain over Tiamat (VII:70).[55]

Summaries

Apsu is captured: He is killed as a negative power. Access to his "waters" is gained through the "vizier"; his power is now Ea's, to use in a positive way. Order is affirmed in the establishment of place, and progeny.

Tiamat is both killed, and kept in captivity. As a repressive tyrant, she threatens to swallow Marduk. He splits her open to gain access to her "waters" and uses the parts of her body to construct the universe. The relation of her death to creation is explicit and clear. However, Tiamat is not only the force of inertia resisting change. She is also the energy of life resisting regulation. Her identity vacillates. Sometimes she is the withholding body; at other times she is its watery contents, as her very name implies. Marduk must take precautions against her flowing uncontrollably: he heaps up a mountain over her, as Ninurta had over the waters released by Asag's death. He must continually maintain his guard. The gods pray, after reciting Marduk's fifty names, "May he subdue Tiamat, may he distress her life, and may it be short! . . . May she retreat without hindrance, may she withdraw forever!" (VII:132,134)

In the case of both Apsu and Tiamat the outcome of the conflict with the anti-creation demon is 1) the waters are released: Apsu's powers are transferred to Ea; Tiamat's veins are cut, and 2) the waters are controlled: Ea holds

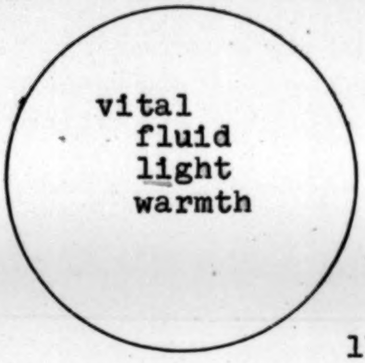
Mummu by a nose-rope; Marduk posts guards over Tiamat's waters. Two ways of dealing with the demon are illustrated: 1) a place is found for him: Chaos is separated from Cosmos, and /or 2) he is made into the cosmos.

The victor Marduk is at once the storm god armed with thunder and lightning who pierces the mountains thus releasing the rivers, and the sun god who is victorious over the dark. The Vedic image of the sun as the embryo of the waters released from Vritra is the clearest expression of the relation of the parts of this action. As the storm he opens, as the sun he contains; as god, he releases and regulates the powers of life and growth.

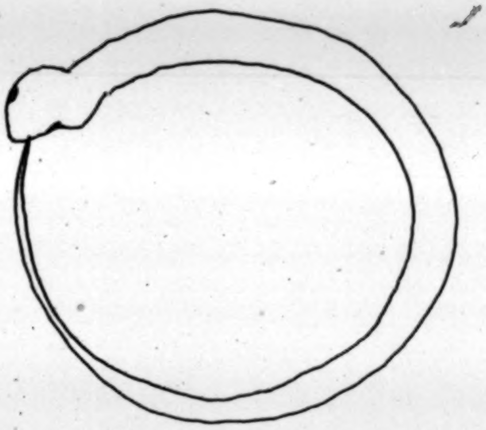
Space Model

Focusing on the Tiamat form of the myth of creation and taking into account the analyses of the preceding myths the action may be represented by the following sequence of diagrams:

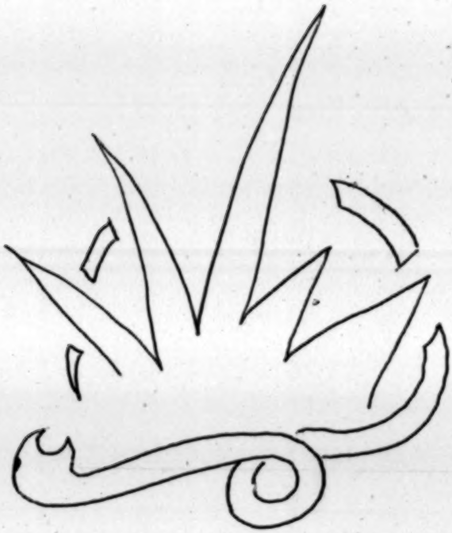
1a)


vital
fluid
light
warmth

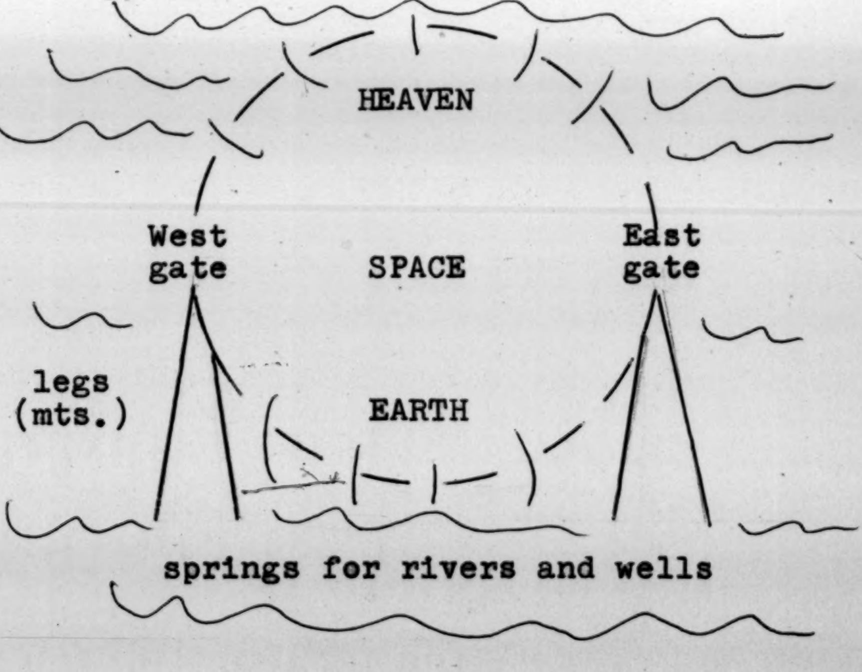
1b)



2)



3)


windows for stars and rain
HEAVEN
West gate
SPACE
East gate
legs (mts.)
EARTH
springs for rivers and wells

1a) The "monster" is an inert body, defined by a hard, impermeable, unbroken shell.

1b) In cross section, the apparently uniform ball is really more like an egg, the "white" being a serpent (with his tail in his mouth) and the "yolk" being the "earth-mound" which contains the potential existence of all things and is guarded against intrusion by the boundary-snake.[56]

2) As we know that an egg invaded by a sperm and fertilized divides, so they knew that power from "outside" (god) serves to separate out one part from another; a top and a bottom are created. Put another way, the hero vanquishes the "serpent," whose body as a consequence is broken in pieces. The vital fluids are released violently. This step is often not differentiated from 3:

3) Vital energies are released according to regulation afforded by the spaces between the pieces, the mouths, or gates, or windows. We peer into Tiamat head-on: like the Canaanite Mot she has "jaws reaching to earth, lips to heaven, and a tongue to the stars."[57] Her mouth is propped open so you can see her body torn within, above and below. Tiamat's trembling legs upon which Marduk treads are the pillars that hold up the world; the twin mountains to East and West that define the horizon or boundary between chaos and cosmos, darkness and light; the critical gateways of the sun. What remains of her body is needed to maintain the ordered movements of water and sun.

The possibility of its coalescence is a continuing threat.

From the space model it is clear that the monster is the earth-mound which is invaded by the space god, "the separator," who separates out the elements of wet and dry, dark and light, and regulates their alternation; who expands, holds apart, makes possible gates for the sun, windows for rain, etc. The difference between Asag and the hursag is now plain: The impermeable, rock-like container is broken up into stones as Ninurta uses the body of Asag to provide a permeable cosmos in which regulated change can result in growth. What was monstrous is turned to good by splitting it open.

Notes to Introduction and Section 1 of Chapter I

1. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
6. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (New York: Praeger, Inc., 1966), p. 128. Dr. Douglas makes the point that ritual is like money in providing a medium of experience. As the test of money is whether it is acceptable or not, so primitive ritual is like good money so long as it commands assent (p. 69).
7. Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," *Myth: A Symposium*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), 8.1.2.
8. *Ibid.*, 4.11.2.; and, survives translation: "[Myth] should be put in the whole gamut of linguistic expressions at the end opposite to that of poetry. . . . Poetry is a kind of speech which cannot be translated except at the cost of serious distortions; whereas the mythical value of the myth remains preserved, even through the worst translation. . . . Its substance does not lie in its style, its original music, or its syntax, but in the story which it tells." (*Ibid.*, 2.5.)

9. Paul Ricoeur, The Symbolism of Evil, trans. Emerson Buchanan (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1967), p. 166.

10. Ibid., p. 170.

11. I prefer "monster" to "dragon" as being less specific with regard to form; see below p. I-iii-1f.

12. Ed. Samuel Noah Kramer (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1961), in subsequent notes referred to as MAW with the name of the contributing author and page number.

13. Ancient Near Eastern Texts, ed. James B. Pritchard (2d ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), to be referred to as ANET with the name of the translator and page number.

14. This account is based on the story as it appears in Samuel Kramer, MAW, p. 105f., and modified according to the suggestions of Thorkild Jacobsen, "Sumerian Mythology: A Review Article," Journal of Near Eastern Studies V (1946), p. 128-152.

15. Mountain, or netherworld. Jacobsen notes that the Akkadian translator renders Kur as šadê, "mountains," and never takes it as a proper name. So: Ninurta's weapon directs his attention toward the mountains, the border of the plain from which danger of attack always threatens. The Enemy is Asag, begotten on Earth by Anu (ibid., p. 143).

16. Kramer, MAW, p. 106.

17. Not desire; cf. Jacobsen, JNES, p. 129.

18. So P. Maurus Witzel, Der Drachenkampfer Ninib (Fulda: Privately printed, 1920), translation of the Ninurta Exploits, as referred to by Joseph Fontenrose, Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), p. 147.

19. Jacobsen, JNES, p. 147.

20. Cf. UT, 76:iii:28. Anat, having been impregnated by Baal after his release from Mot, says, "The rocks of the highway of death (are turned) to the rocks of victory" (gr.msl mt.bgr[.]tleyt. Only Driver attempts a translation of this obscure passage.) Ugaritic text and translation unless otherwise noted follow G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956). The numbering is according to Cyrus Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965).

21. Homer Odyssey xiii.330, trans. Robert Fitzgerald (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1963), p. 241. The citation of this passage does not effect my argument. I ought to point out that Fitzgerald's translation may be too imaginative here. The Greek may merely mean that the mountain is covered by trees.

22. Notably Theodor H. Gaster, Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East (rev. ed.; Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1961) and Henri Frankfort et al., Before Philosophy: The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946).

23. Based on W. Norman Brown, MAW, p. 281ff.

24. *Hymns from the Rigveda*, trans. A. A. MacDonell (London: Oxford University Press, n.d.), p. 47f.

25. The removal of obstruction from the seven streams, the cutting of Tiamat's arteries (below, p. I-1-22) and the cutting off of Leviathan's seven heads (below, p. II-1-9) appear to be homologous.

26. *Satapatha-Brâhmana*, trans. Julius Eggling (Sacred Books of the East, xii, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882), I Kânda, 6 Adhyâya, 3 Brâhmana 3-17.

27. References to the Rig Veda are suggested by W. Norman Brown, "The Creation Myth of the Rig Veda," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* LXII (June, 1942), p. 85-98.

28. Jacobsen, *JNES*, note 31, "*cf*. Deimel, *Sumerian Lexicon*, 334.104."

29. W. Norman Brown, *MAW*, p. 297ff. and Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, ed. Joseph Campbell (Bollingen Series VI; Washington, D.C.: Pantheon Books Inc., 1946), p. 79ff.

30. Zimmer, p. 80.

31. There are many references in the Talmud to the belief that serpents spoil liquids for consumption: exposed liquids are forbidden for use, lest a snake has drunk from them (Bez. 30). *The basis of this belief may be the mythological association of the serpent with the (salt) sea*, as follows: In Ex. 15:23 the people complain "they could not drink the water of Marah because

it was bitter; . . . 24) . . . And the Lord showed [Moses] a tree, and he threw it into the water, and the water became sweet." Mayerson points out that in the Negev springs are rare; wells are the main source of regular water but most wells are too salty. (Philip Mayerson, The Ancient Agricultural Regime of Nessana and the Central Negeb [The British School of Archeology in Jerusalem, 2 Hinde St. Manchester Sq. London W.1], p. 11.) It is conceivable that this salt, associated with the (evil) spirit of the sea, is the bitterness referred to. Elisha proves himself to be a prophet like Moses not only by parting the waters at Jericho (2 Kg. 2:14) but also by restoring bad water to use (v. 19-22). Perhaps his command "Bring me a new bowl and put salt in it" introduced a rite of sympathetic magic the significance of which was lost to the writer, who assumes simply that he threw salt in the spring to make the water wholesome, rather than that the waters were spoiled by salt.

32. Summarized from the text as it is presented by Alexander Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis (2d ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1963), p. 141.

33. E. A. Speiser, ANET, p. 111ff.

34. Lines 53 and 65, Tablet 2, Susa version.

35. O. R. Gurney, The Hittites (2d ed. rev., Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 187f.

36. Probably originally Hattian, so Hans G. Güterbock, MAW, p. 143f.

37. Coffin Texts, spell 160, John A. Wilson, ANET, p. 12.

38. From the Book of the Dead, Ch. 39, as translated by R. T. Rundle Clark, Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt (London: Thames and Hudson, 1959), p. 209.

39. Wilson, ANET, p. 6.

40. Above, p. I-i-12.

41. Sources: Heidel, and Speiser, ANET, p. 60ff. The quotations are from Heidel's translation, occasionally followed by Speiser's translation in parentheses.

42. Thorkild Jacobsen, Before Philosophy, p. 185. Now Ea is not just the two dimensional line sketch, Kishar, but the positively existing earth-mound.

43. Ibid., p. 183.

44. Etc., I:141. The plurality of demonic manifestations is in itself a symbol of disorder.

45. Heidel translates here "As he [Marduk] gazes. (Kingu) is confused in his plan" (IV:67) which would give the power of the "evil eye" to Marduk. In the light of the comparative material it is more likely that Speiser's interpretation is correct. First of all, it is customary in the dragon battle tradition to mention that the hero was at first unsuccessful, or suffered a set-back of some sort (cf. Ninurta, p. I-i-6; Krishna, p. I-i-14; Fontenrose, theme 8A). Secondly, in two other cases where the paralyzing

glance is mentioned, it is the villain who employs it; see the Apophis myth, p. I-i-18 and Kumarbi, p. I-ii-1 . Of course this is not conclusive, considering how often the attributes and techniques of hero and villain are interchanged.

46. *MAW*, p. 121.

47. Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1961), p. 32.

48. Morris Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylon and Assyria* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1898), p. 431.

49. Jacobsen, *Before Philosophy*, p. 194.

50. Pyramid Texts 1146, Clark, p. 50.

51. Coffin Texts IV, spell 321, *ibid*., p. 51.

52. *Ibid*., p. 139f.

53. There is another bilingual (Akkadian-Sumerian) account of creation (Heidel, p. 61f. in which Marduk "piled up a dam at the edge of the sea" (l. 31) or "created dirt and poured [it on the face of the waters] by the reed frame" (l. 18) without meeting any opposition from the waters.

54. *Cf*. The waters above the firmament, Gen. 1:7.

55. My feeling that *Enuma Elish* is composite is substantiated by W. G. Lambert, in an article entitled "A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis," *Journal of Theological Studies* XVI (1965): "The first major conclusion is that the *Epic of Creation*

is not a norm of Babylonian or Sumerian cosmology. It is a sectarian and aberrant combination of mythological threads woven into an unparalleled compositum. In my opinion it is not earlier than 1100 B.C." (p. 291).

56. The Egyptians had a myth about a primeval serpent, Sito "son of earth" or Iru-To "creator of earth" who encircles the world either with many coils or with its tail in its mouth (Clark, p. 50 and 239). The figure is familiar as a symbol of eternity.

57. UT, 67:ii:2f.

Section ii: The Time Model

So far, the demon has been primarily a withholder of water, sun, fertility. His repressive nature may also be expressed in terms of the relation of a father to his sons, or a tyrant to his subjects. The conflict of generations suggested in the Apsu version leads to a conception of "withholding" that will be developed in the analysis of the following myths and finally represented in a "time model," corresponding to the space model.

The Hurrian and Greek myths of divine kingship make no mention of serpents or dragons, but the demonic character of Kronos and Kumarbi is suggested by their role in the conflict for kingship, and is confirmed by their relation to the monstrous giants Typhon and Ullikummi.

The Storm-God vs. Kumarbi[1]

A Hittite epic (reflecting a Hurrian myth) tells of how Alalu ruled in heaven until after nine years he was vanquished by Anu, and fled down to the dark earth. After another nine years Anu is vanquished by Kumarbi, who fought _like Alalu_. "He could no longer withstand Kumarbi's eyes" and tries to fly to the sky. However, Kumarbi drags him down, bites off and swallows Anu's genitals. Anu warns him that he has thus impregnated himself with the storm god and his friend Tasmisu, and the Tigris river, and that these will drive him to striking his head against the rocks of his mountain. Kumarbi immediately spits out some of this onto the earth, but the text is broken here. He is angry, and there is reference to his pregnancy; there is a discussion about which opening of Kumarbi's body should serve as a birth canal, and finally the storm god and the rest are born. Anu plots to destroy Kumarbi with the help of the storm god, who is apparently successful in deposing Kumarbi and taking his place as the king of heaven (the text is not preserved).

Summary

The villain of this piece is Kumarbi, heir of Alalu of the underworld; the hero is Anu and his heir. The release of water is simultaneous with and parallel to the release of the son. Kumarbi wishes, by one means or another, to prevent the birth of his successor. He is associated with the unyielding earth (Alalu), as are Vritra and Asag; Anu warns that he'll want to split himself open, so great will be the pressure of life inside him!

Zeus vs. Kronos

Hesiod's account of Zeus' ancestors is similar, and clarifying in some respects: "First of all there came chaos, and after him came Gaia [earth] of the broad breast."[2] "Gaia's first born was one who matched her every dimension, Ouranos, the starry sky, to cover her all over."[3] "Her youngest born was devious-devising Kronos, most terrible of her children, and he hated his strong father [Ouranos]."[4] He it was who carried out his mother's plan to castrate the father who refused to let his sons be born so that "great Gaia groaned within for pressure of pain."[5] From the blood of dismemberment that fell on her, Gaia produced the furies, and Aphrodite arose from the foam as Ouranos' genitals fell into the sea. The generation born so unwillingly of Ouranos are called Titans, "the stretchers, for they stretched their power outrageously."[6] Kronos bound them and so became king of the gods for a time, which he extended by swallowing his sons, "that no other of the proud children of the line of Ouranos should ever hold the king's position among the immortals."[7] However, Rheia persuaded Gaia to hide Zeus, and when he "grew great, with the years circling on,"[8] Zeus released not only his brothers but also his uncles, the Titans.

> He set free from their bonds the brothers of his father, the sons of Ouranos, whom his father [Kronos] . . . had enchained, and they remembered, and knew gratitude for the good he had done them, and they gave him the thunder, and the smoky bolt, and the flash of lightning, which Gaia the gigantic had hidden till then. With these to support him, he is lord over immortals and mortals.[9]

Not altogether consistent with this picture, but typical enough as a parallel, is the account of the battle of the Olympians with the Titans which begins l. 617. According to this story, Zeus released three Titans who had been bound under earth by Ouranos, because Gaia told him "that with these three victory would be won."[10] The climax of the battle is described,

> The wonderful conflagration crushed chaos and to the eyes' seeing and the ears' hearing the clamor of it, it absolutely would have seemed as if Earth and the wide Heaven above her had collided, for such would have been the crash arising as Earth wrecked and the sky came piling down on top of her.[11]

It sounds as though Zeus is gathering together what Kronos had separated! The Titans are overwhelmed by power of the same order as their own (sons of Ouranos). "They drove them as far underground as earth is distant from heaven" and bound them there; "Poseidon has fitted brazen doors, and the walls run around enclosing everything."[12]

Analysis

By cutting off the member that joined his parents, Kronos separated earth and heaven, but the powers of expansion represented by his generation are titanic. Their violence is restrained by Zeus whose battle-action (l. 700f.) is described as a reversal of the separating act of Kronos. (He gathers into a regulated whole the parts of the monster that had been violently scattered when he was split open.) Actually, Kronos in his capacity as separator is, like Kumarbi, the heir of his "grandfather" chaos, who came into being before earth and heaven. As Kirk explains, the noun "chaos" is derived from the root χα , meaning gape, gap, yawn (i.e. a bounded interval, not a void). It was used (before 400 B.C.) to mean air in the sense of the region between sky and earth.[13] It makes sense to say that the separator is prior, in that heaven and earth are the product of the separation of one thing. This is in accord with Egyptian geneological cosmology, in which Shu, the separating air, belongs to the generation preceding Geb (earth) and Nut (sky).[14]

The myth of Zeus' ancestry is a beautiful example of reduplication of the same sequence so typical of myth.[15] As the air between defines earth and heaven as separate places, so Kronos divides, and in so doing creates, his parents. But now the separator that had granted existence becomes a repressor: Kronos binds his brothers and swallows his sons in a desperate effort to stop time, to prevent the vengeance of the father from finding a champion in the son. Now Zeus performs the action of release: in one way of telling it, the powers he frees become his;[16] in the other, they must be mastered. Though Hesiod does not say that the battle with the Titans follows and is dependent upon Kronos' defeat, the fact that Kronos had bound them (l. 502) suggests this: the effect of killing Asag was to release uncontrollable violence. The work of Zeus in the war with the Titans is to gather what had been scattered and to put a bound on the source of his own power (the Titans in the underworld). The next step, of course, is that Zeus swallows his own (first) wife, Metis, in order that he may prevent the birth of a successor as wise and strong as himself who might replace him. But having "put her away inside his own belly so that this goddess should think for him, for good and for evil"[17] presumably he had the wisdom to resist the tendency to become reactionary in his "old age" and continue(s) to maintain the condition of free but regulated flow. As Norman O. Brown points out, Zeus differs from his predecessors in that his "leadership is based not on kinship but on political alliances."[18] He gains the support of some of the Titans by promising them office in his regime:

> Thus the force and violence in the universe which an earlier generation created and then tried to repress, finds a controlled outlet in the political organization of Zeus.[19]

His authority allows for natural growth.

Among the points of contact with the Kumarbi story are: that earth is prior to heaven; that the same character performs the separating act of castration and the repressing act of preventing birth. The significant difference is that in the Kumarbi story, the distinction between brothers and sons is lost. The gods "born" of Kumarbi are of the seed of Anu. Two generations are telescoped into one, as though Zeus had not been differentiated from his titanic powers. We lose the dimension afforded by a battle between Zeus and the Titans, but we gain a new insight into the mediating function of this battle: In the attempt to secure rule for himself, Kumarbi has insured that Anu will have a successor. It is by means of castration of the father that the son is implanted. In his attempt to separate heaven and earth, Kumarbi has become the mediator of their productivity. As we shall see when we come to discuss the Egyptian material, the role the villain plays as the servant of cosmic order is an important theme: Horus' potency as king of Egypt is an expression of the eternal life of Osiris, which is achieved by means of Seth, his murderer.

Teshub vs. Ullikummi[20]

The Song of Ullikummi (from Hurrian tradition) can be read as a parallel to the conflict for kingship, in which the act of "preventing birth" (or succession) is represented by "the stone giant." As the story goes, Kumarbi tries to replace Teshub (the storm god, born of Anu's seed by means of Kumarbi) with his own son by a rock, the stone giant Ullikummi.

> Let him go up to heaven, let him suppress [vanquish, Goetze] Kummiya [Teshub's city], let him hit Teshub and pound him . . . and crush him with his foot . . . let him scatter the gods down from heaven like birds and smash them like empty dishes.[21]

Having made an alliance with the sea, Kumarbi carries Ullikummi to the abyss beneath the sea bottom where he is protected from the great gods. There he gives the child to "the dark earth" to nourish. Ullikummi grows in the sea on the shoulder of Ubelluri (who carries heaven and earth, including the sea), and soon emerges like a shaft, or pillar, or tower of stone. The sun god notices him and warns Teshub, who with his sister goes up a mountain to see the monster. Teshub weeps in despair; his sister Ishtar attempts in vain to seduce the monster[22] so a thundering chariot force is assembled. Seventy gods participated on Teshub's side in the battle against Ullikummi, who had now risen so far that he stood over the gate of Kummiya. At first Teshub and his company are unsuccessful; Teshub's wife, Hebat, waiting for him in the palace, is cut off from communication with him. She is informed that Teshub will have to give up his rule for a certain period of time. Teshub and his vizier then go to Ea, seeking arbitration; "Ea's [heart] will perhaps have been softened and Ea [will] perhaps [listen] and so us a favor. He will hand over to us the old [. . . tablets.]"[23] Ea is ineffectual in his attempt to persuade Kumarbi to desist from his evil plan. Enlil and Ubelluri are no help, so, Ea resurrects the tool which had once been used to separate heaven and earth, and with it, separates the stone from Ubelluri's shoulder, thus breaking its power. Again Teshub rides down to the sea with thunder, and this time is successful in battle (presumably, the text breaks off at this point).

Summary

While the focus is on sovereignty and the text which might tell of the outcome of the battle is lost, the fact that Ullikummi is of stone and is said to have "blocked off heaven, the houses of the gods, and Hebat"[24] suggests that the stone giant is a monster of the type of Asag and Vritra: a repressor. He is sponsored by Kumarbi, who for the time being (as symbolized by his alliance with the sea), has the vital powers under his control. The function of the stone is to prevent the succession of generations (Teshub, Kumarbi's "son"). The resolution is not described in terms of a release of water; but the toppling of the stone from its foundations under the water will result in the release of power once held by Kumarbi. Attention is drawn, by mention of the tool, to the fact that there is a relation between this act, and the separating of heaven and earth. Ullikummi, as a manifestation of Kumarbi, is simply another form of the inimical earth-mound, which must be split to create the cosmos. Or, more explicitly, he is the phallus which must be cut off from the "dark earth" (as Ouranos is cut off from Gaia) in order to release powers stoppered there.

Zeus vs. Typhon

The powers of dark earth are personified in Greek mythology by the Typhon monster who bears much resemblance to Ullikummi in function, though not in form. According to Hesiod[25] Gaia, in love with Tartaros, "by means of Aphrodite" (product of Ouranos and the sea through the mediation of Kronos), bore Typhoeus, of a hundred snake heads. Her motive was wrath at the gods for their treatment of Kronos and the Titans.[26] Fire flares from his eyes, he sounds like a bull or lion, he intends to master gods and men. Zeus produces an earthquake (splitting motif); "heat and blaze from both of them was on the dark-faced sea."[27] Zeus sets fire to Typhon's heads and as he crashes to the earth, the earth melts in the heat. The crippled Typhon is cast into Tartaros. In the Apollodorus version, Zeus wrestles with the monster who "twined around him and gripped him in his coils, and wrestling the sickle from him severed the sinews of his hands and feet."[28] Zeus is rendered impotent for a time, but when his sinews are restored he pins Typhon under Mt. Aetna.

Summary

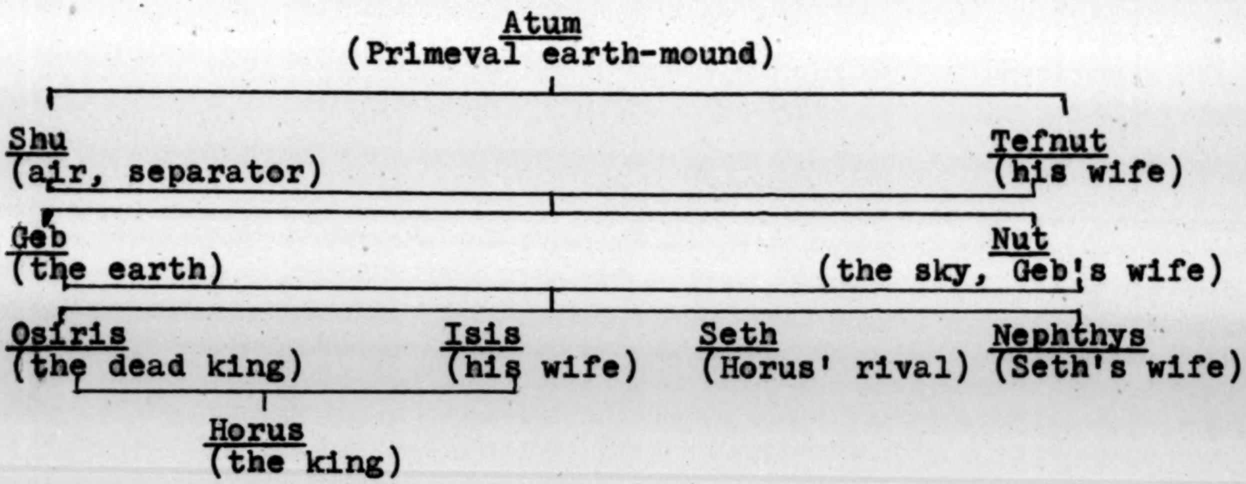
Vital force is represented by fire rather than water in this myth. Zeus literally "fights fire with fire" having released the powers of earth, in his attempt to contain them, just as he had employed Titans against Titans. Apollodorus' version conforms more closely to the pattern so far established; for a time the releaser is encompassed by the represser. Hesiod does not need to say that Zeus was temporarily overpowered; instead the paralyzing drought is recognized to be as much the action of Zeus as of Typhon: He hurts in order to heal. Rather than cutting off the heads (as Indra does) Zeus cauterizes them--the interest is not on vital fluids that are thereby released but on the power of Zeus' thunderbolt and its sources. Most important is the fact that the purpose of Typhon's production is to prevent Zeus from succeeding Kronos.

The alternation of generations emerges as a recurrent theme on which we might do well to focus at this point: Kumarbi fights like Alalu, Teshub is Anu's avenger; Kronos is the child of Gaia while Zeus is of the line of Ouranos.[29] One understanding of the relationship between Osiris, Seth and Horus clarifies the meaning of this motif.

Horus vs. Seth[30]

The principle role which Seth plays in the mythological conceptions of the Egyptians is as the rival claimant of the throne. Anthes explains the Heliopolitan lineage of Horus as an answer to the question raised by the death of the supposedly immortal king (who is the universal and eternal god Horus), and as a proof of the divine character of his bodily son when he succeeded his father.[31]

The Heliopolitan Lineage of Horus[32]


Atum
(Primeval earth-mound)
Shu
(air, separator)
Tefnut
(his wife)
Geb
(the earth)
Nut
(the sky, Geb's wife)
Osiris
(the dead king)
Isis
(his wife)
Seth
(Horus' rival)
Nephthys
(Seth's wife)
Horus
(the king)

Reading the family tree from the bottom up, the young king answers questions concerning his legitimacy. He explains that he who was Horus was murdered by Seth and thus became the eternal Osiris. His identity as the living king is maintained by his son who is now Horus. This Horus has, by his father's becoming united with the dead, been given access to the powers of his "ancestry" which is traced back through Osiris to Nut and Geb (heaven and earth), Shu (the separator) and finally Atum, the primeval one who emerged from the waters.[33]

The myth of Osiris as it is alluded to in the earliest sources, the Pyramid texts, grows out of the geneology of Horus and focuses on two actions. 1) The death of the king and his transformation into Osiris: the king was killed by his brother Seth. Sometimes it is said that he was drowned;[34] Seth tears up Osiris' body and scatters the pieces, either on land, or into the Nile. Isis gathers the pieces and from them conceives Horus. The mediating role of Kumarbi in the birth of Teshub from Anu's seed is clarified by comparison with Seth. It is repeatedly said that Seth, like a kind of funerary barque, carries Osiris (across the waters of death).

> Viewed in this way, Seth is not only a murderer and demon of death, but also the demonic initiator, who leads his brother to life through death by violence.[35]

"It was necessary for Osiris to be forcibly deprived of life in this world if he was to become lord of the realm of the dead," so the disorderly Seth who murders him collaborates "in maintaining the cosmic order, though in a peculiar way."[36] The assistance of Seth in Osiris' resurrection may be one way of expressing the part he plays in the coming-of-age of Horus, which is described in the second action. 2) Installation of his son on the throne: Coffin text #148 refers to the tyrannical reign of Seth and his henchmen after the death of Osiris and before Horus comes of age.[37] There follows a "period of confusion" in which Horus and Seth quarrel, destroying the order of creation.[38] One version[39] tells that Seth tore out Horus' eye while Horus tore off Seth's testicles; finally Thoth persuaded them to submit to arbitration.[40] According to the Pyramid texts again, a court presided over by Geb, on the testimony of Isis, judged in favor of Horus. Upon Horus' victory, Osiris revives, and Seth is forced to be his bearer.

> Osiris! Hear! . . .
> Rise up, you that were cast down in Nedit!
> Take your bread with happiness in Pê!
> Receive your sceptre in Heliopolis!
> This is Horus [speaking], he has ordained action
>   for his father,
> he has shown himself master of the storm,
> he has countered the blustering of Seth,
> so that he (Seth) must bear you -
> for it is he that must carry him who is again
>   complete.[41]

Trying to form an idea of the nature of the conflict between Horus and Seth, Velde distinguishes two phases; first there are irregularities of a homosexual nature "invited by Seth, who does not keep to the boundaries of sex,"[42] and secondly, a fight. In the first phase, Horus' "eye" is made to drip, and becomes small. Seth becomes "pregnant" and the eye of Horus appears on Seth's forehead. Furious, he attempts to seize it.[43] Thoth, the mediator, the separator of the two brothers, "son of the two lords, who came forth from the forehead,"[44] restores the eye.

> The eye [of Horus] that passed through Seth in the form of semen, was reborn as wd3t-eye [the eye that was healed] and comprises not only the reality of Horus, but also the reality of Seth, the outsider [the separated one, p. 31]. Thoth, the famous healer of the eye, . . . has constructed the eye in such a way, that he has designed a new image of reality, which takes account of the existence of Seth. [But] the integration of Seth in the cosmic order costs him his independence.[45]

The testicle symbol is the counterpart of the wd3t-eye. "The testicles of Seth represent the savage, elementary, yet undifferentiated urges which require to be shaped and integrated before they can be truly fruitful."[46] It is necessary that Seth's testicles be returned to him, in sign that he is recognized and worshipped as the "spirit of disorder," "the enemy of boundaries."[47]

Thoth has succeeded in separating Horus and Seth, which is equivalent to setting a boundary between cosmos and chaos. The separation is a "decisive mythical event"[48] to which many distinctions were linked. But it is "only a necessary preliminary to . . . the reconciliation and union of Horus and Seth"[49] in the king.

> Ruling, the king is Horus, when he must use force he is Seth. Neither of the two aspects can be dispensed with. It is the cooperation of both gods in the king which guarantees the welfare of the world.[50]

Summary

Horus' victory over Seth which, it is stressed, is a victory of law over brute force, opens the barrier between the living and the dead. Osiris is released, and Horus gains access to the powers of his ancestors. Osiris remains inactive until Horus gains control: the unregulated violence of Seth is distinct from the power-to-order[51] that becomes available to the legitimate king. However, Seth has his place in the newly established government as the bearer or sustainer of that power source.

> Horus has seized Seth, he has put him beneath you so that he can lift you up. He will groan beneath you as an earthquake. . . . Horus has made you recognize him in his real nature, let him not escape you; he has made you hold him by your hand, let him not get away from you.[52]

Seth, like Kumarbi, comes between the legitimate ruler and his heir. The critical boundary between wet and dry, light and dark, life and death, is the line between the rule of the legitimate king, and that of his son. Kronos, Kumarbi and Seth represent the danger area presented by every crossing over from one stage of life to the next, especially between generations, when the father gives place to the son (i.e. when the son becomes a father) as the protector of the family, or the ruler of the universe.[53]

Baal vs. Yam and Mot[54]

Because the body of literature is so small, and fragmentary, any interpretation of the Ugaritic material must be highly speculative. Therefore, I have left consideration of the Baal story until last. This time I will start with the pattern derived from the myths summarized earlier, and using this as a hypothesis, see if an arrangement of the facts to fit it is plausible.

El has granted dominion to Yam and ordered a palace to be built for him. However, Yam's rule proves to be oppressive and Baal, alone of the gods, refuses to submit to it. He engages Yam in battle, smashes his head and makes an end of him,[55] regardless of Athtart's insistance that Yam should be kept a captive. Now Baal requires a palace and with the help of Anat and then of Athirat gains El's permission to have one built by the divine craftsman, Kathir-and-Khasis. At first Baal refuses to let him put in a window for fear of Yam,[56] but after securing his kingdom he requests that one be put in after all. Now, however, he must contend with Mot who refuses to submit to the rule of Baal. This time Mot is successful; Baal is swallowed into the underworld and the gods mourn his death. Anat recovers Baal's body. When Baal revives he and Mot fight it out until word comes that El supports Baal.

I have not mentioned the part played by Anat as a warrior goddess because I feel that her battles "tell the same story." When she rips open Mot and scatters his pieces it is she who releases the powers of life.

Comment

Baal vanquishes Yam.--The conquest of Yam, as of Tiamat, takes the form of splitting open. Baal's "palace," like Ninurta's hursag (which turned out to be the cosmos),[57] is constructed to control the outpourings released when Yam's head is smashed. When Baal is satisfied that the "flood" is under control,[58] he orders a window to be installed to give access to it. (In this way the defeated Yam can be regarded as in some sense captured, or gathered.)

Baal is swallowed by Mot.-- When Baal submits passively to Mot's command to descend to the underworld, he plays a role closest to that of Osiris, who is murdered by Seth. The episode in which Baal fights with Mot and they "bite like serpents," on the other hand, reminds one of the quarrel between Horus and Seth which is resolved by Geb's judgment in favor of Horus (corresponding to El's decree). The distinction between generations marked by the two names of the god-king Horus and Osiris is not made. Instead, the single name confirms the identity of the divine ruler and his successor. (The goddess recovers Baal himself, rather than conceiving his heir from his corpse.)

Anat scatters Mot.-- Just as a goddess loosened the grip of Hahhimas (and there are other examples of female champions, who are never, however, creators!), Anat splits open Mot, releasing Baal.

Just as Ea's and Enlil(Marduk)'s victories over Apsu and Tiamat were two different ways of describing how the world began, so Baal's conquest of Yam is essentially the same story as his achievement of dominion over Mot. The first is closer to the first group of stories analyzed in its reference to water, while in the second the irresistible nature of Mot's (death's) power gives him the character of a boundary: the concern is with royal succession, as in this second group of stories. The two are combined into one continuous tale so as to conform to the order of the seasons: Yam as autumn floods is followed by Baal, the rainy season, which in turn is followed by Mot, corresponding to the summer drought.[59]

The stories about Kumarbi, Kronos and Seth add to the previous analysis the definition of withholding in terms of time: each seeks to prevent the orderly succession of generations. In the case of Kumarbi and Kronos, the possibility that the liberating god becomes a repressive monster is expressed. Before coordinating this material with the "space model" I would like to review the various ways of defining the monster:

1) He is the devourer (Vritra, Tiamat) that holds within himself water, the sun, children etc., preventing their differentiation. He must be killed, split open and scattered in pieces, in order that his substance may give rise to life.

2) He is the separator (Kumarbi, Seth) that keeps apart death from life, dark from light, dry from wet, the father from the child, preventing intercourse and continuity. He must be captured and bound, his energies inte-

grated within an ordered system.

What makes "the separator" such a villain is that he opposes change. He is as much a reactionary as "the devourer" is a radical,[60] denying all distinctions to affirm fundamental, underived being. The one is just as much of a tyrant as the other. To deny existence form is just as incapacitating as to deny form change: in political terms, society cannot thrive without laws, but to be effective, law must be continually reformed to meet the needs of a particular society.

The basic meaning of "god killed the dragon" is that time proceeds, bringing fulfillment as it brings death; water flows rather than floods, the sun rises as surely as it sets, sons become fathers as they engender sons. What makes Indra, Marduk, Zeus, Horus, Baal, etc. heroes is their ability to provide an order in which this free yet regulated movement is assured.[61] As Brown says in his introduction to Hesiod, "The cosmic problem is to find the right form of authority."[62] Zeus differs from his predecessors in his ability to permit natural development. He has found a way to release safely his potentially dangerous "offspring."[63]

Time Model

When Ninurta destroyed Asag, he had to cope with the flood that he had released. On page I-i-29, above, the story of Tiamat is used to represent spacially the arrangement of the universe as a living order. Depending on whether you view the undifferentiated body (fig. 1) from the outside or the inside, Tiamat is destructive as the boundary line (the force of inertia resisting change), or as its content, the energy of life resisting regulation. These extremes may also be understood temporally: There is a proper time for a son to become a father. The attempt to usurp the position prematurely is as destructive as the father's prevention of the son, when his time comes. Change can take place too rapidly as well as too slowly.

Figure 1. This state represents "eternity" in which all things are, but nothing becomes. There is no change, no movement, no differentiation.

Figure 2. Equally timeless is the state of flux in which everything is changing so rapidly that there is no reference point from which to mark time.

Figure 3. The forces released are controlled, and we have time, or measured flow in which the tendency to dissipate is balanced by a force of cohesion, and the tendency to coalesce is complimented by a force of expansion. This conception allows us to regard life, the regime of the god, as a mean between two extremes.

Notes to Section ii of Chapter I

1. Sources: Albrecht Goetze, ANET, p. 120f.; Güterbock, MAW, p. 156f.; Gurney, p. 190f.

2. Hesiod, trans. Richard Lattimore (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), Theogony, p. 123ff.; l. 166.

3. Ibid., l. 126; just as Tiamat's body was stretched out to match Apsu's.

4. Ibid., l. 137.

5. Ibid., l. 159.

6. Ibid., l. 209.

7. Ibid., l. 461.

8. Ibid., l. 493.

9. Ibid., l. 501f.

10. Ibid., l. 628.

11. Ibid., l. 700f.

12. Ibid., l. 720f.

13. G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, The Presocratic Philosophers (Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 27f.

14. So Tiamat and Apsu can be heaven and earth respectively, but that which was separated must be one *or* the other of them.

15. Lévi-Strauss explains: "repetition has as its function to make the structure of the myth apparent." (8.1.1)

16. *Cf*. Indra and the Waters, Ea and Mummu.

17. Theogony, l. 889. It ought to be pointed out that not all scholars consider this passage to be genuine to Hesiod, *cf*. Friedrich Solmsen, Hesiod and Aeschylus ("Cornell Studies in Classical Philology XXX"; Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1949), p. 67f.

18. Hesiod's Theogony, trans. with an Intro. by Norman O. Brown (Indianapolis: The Liberal Arts Press, Inc., 1953), p. 20.
19. Ibid., p. 24.
20. Summarized from Güterbock, MAW, p. 164f., with reference to Goetze, ANET, p. 121f. and Gurney, p. 192f., and Güterbock, "The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths: Oriental Forerunners of Hesiod," American Journal of Archeology, LII (1948), p. 123-34.
21. MAW, p. 165f.
22. Cf. Hahhimas, p. I-i-17.
23. ANET, p. 124.
24. Ibid.
25. Trans. Lattimore, p. 172f., lines 820ff.
26. Fontenrose, p. 214. In the Homeric Hymns version, Hera, with the aid of the Titans, gives birth to Typhon in retaliation for Zeus' unaided production of Athena.
27. Theogony, Lattimore, l. 844.
28. Apollodorus, The Library, trans. Sir James G. Frazer ("The Loeb Classical Library"; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), I, p. 49.
29. Theogony, l. 461.
30. With the Egyptian as with the Indian material, I am more than usually dependent on commentaries since the nature of the literature is such that the mythological concepts must be pieced together from scattered references.

31. Rudolf Anthes, "Egyptian Theology in the Third Millennium B.C.," JNES, XVIII (July, 1959), p. 169-212.

32. Adopted from Anthes, MAW, p. 37. The geneology originated during the First Dynasty, is attested in the Third Dynasty c. 2700 B.C. and in the Pyramid texts. It is a standard concept of Egyptian religion in all succeeding periods. (Ibid., p. 36.)

33. Cf. above, p. I-1-25.

34. "The Memphite Theology of Creation," trans. John A. Wilson, ANET, p. 4.

35. H. Te Velde, Seth, God of Confusion (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), p. 98.

36. Ibid., p. 140.

37. Clark, p. 213.

38. The Book of the Dead, Ch. 175A, Clark, p. 110.

39. Anthes, MAW, p. 72.

40. Their various contests are elaborated upon in the Chester Beatty papyrus from the twelfth century B.C. which J. Spiegel (Clark, p. 278, n. 40) thinks reflects the theology of the early middle kingdom. The following is a summary of "The Contendings of Horus and Seth" based on the translations of that papyrus by Clark (p. 195f.) and Wilson (ANET, p. 14). The contest between Horus and Seth to inherit the rule of Osiris, father of Horus and brother of Seth, is resolved by tribunal of the gods headed by Re or Atum. Shu, son of Re, says that justice (Horus) should prevail over brute strength (Seth). Thoth and Isis concur but Atum is angry with them for their

hasty judgment. He supports Seth, as the stronger. A letter is sent to Neith, the oldest of the goddesses, who says Osiris' office should be given to his son, and that the brother Seth should be compensated by gifts. Isis is excluded, at Seth's wish, from the court (which convenes on an island) but she tricks the ferryman and causes Seth to fall in love with her, and to pronounce judgment against himself. Now Re approves of the choice of Horus, but Seth persuades Re to let him engage in a contest with Horus to see which, in the form of hippopotami, can stay under water the longest. Isis interferes, harpooning first Horus and then Seth. Horus cuts off Isis' head; is divested of his eyes by Seth. Hathor restores Horus. Then the two (Horus and Seth) try to frame each other as homosexuals; Seth loses his testicles. Isis has provided that Seth has become pregnant with the seed of Horus, which, when called to answer in court, asks "where shall I come forth?" (cf. Kumarbi myth, p. 31 above). Having lost this round, Seth proposes another contest, a race in stone boats. Horus wins because his boat only looks like stone; from it he is about to harpoon Seth, now in the form of a hippopotamus, but is dissuaded by the company. A letter is sent to Osiris "great of flood, master of flood (provisions, Wilson)" who is outraged at the treatment of Horus, and challenges Re's authority reminding him that he is lord of the underworld to which stars, gods, men, ultimately come. Finally legality triumphs over brute force and Seth is compensated by becoming the "son of Re" and the god of storm. Stationed at the bow of the sun's boat, he wards off the attacks of Apophis, serpent-dragon of darkness, who threatens the sun boat at sunrise and sunset.

41. Pyramid text # 258ff., Clark, p. 111.

42. Velde, p. 33.

43. This is phase two: "All texts in which one can read open combat and a militant conflict, are to be placed in this stage of the myth and not elsewhere" (Ibid., p. 45). Notice the resemblance to Kumarbi's anger on finding himself impregnated with Anu's seed.

44. Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, herausgegeben von A. Erman und H. Grapow (I-VI, Belegstellen I-V, Berlin, 1926-1955), II, 231, 6, as quoted by Velde, p. 44. Notice the resemblance to Athene, both in origin and function.

45. Velde, p. 48f.

46. Ibid., p. 56.

47. These epithets belong to the trickster as Kerényi describes him, whose "function . . . is to add disorder to order and so make a whole, to render possible, within the fixed bounds of what is permitted, an experience of what is not permitted."

(P. Radin, The Trickster, with commentaries by K. Kerényi and C. G. Jung [London, 1956], p. 185, as quoted by Velde, p. 56.)

48. Velde, p. 60.

49. Ibid., p. 63.

50. Ibid., p. 71f.

51. The power-to-order comes from Osiris. Velde understands the duality of Osiris and Seth, which disturbs the orderly succession of single pairs that preceded their generation, to be an expression of the awareness of death.

> Osiris is death from which life arises, and Seth is life which produces death. Owing to the duality of Osiris and Seth which now came into being, death, which before had formed a unity with life, became visible separately in the strange brother. (p. 95)

In his attempt to get rid of death by murdering Osiris-who-must-die, Seth revealed death as an enemy.

I conclude that a major function of the mythology and associated ritual is to give expression to the fear of death that cannot be denied, and to alleviate it through demonstration of its value. Death has a positive value as a realm not subject to time. That is why the power-to-order (to reason, to think logically, to make rules that hold over time), comes from Osiris, "the god of absolute life, whose essence includes death." (p. 93)

Seth tries to stop time by force; Horus grows up in time, but escapes from its tyranny by identifying with the order of his ancestors which will survive his personal death.

52. Pyramid text #581ff., Clark, p. 114.

53.

> Danger lies in transitional states, simply because transition is neither one state nor the next, it is indefinable. The person who must pass from one to another is himself in danger and emanates danger to others . . . To say that [boys in initiation ceremonies] risk their lives says precisely that to go out of the formal structure and to enter the margins is to be exposed to power that is enough to kill them or make their manhood. (Douglas, p. 96.)

54. The Baal story is summarized from Driver, with reference to Cyrus H. Gordon, MAW; H. L. Ginsberg, ANET, and Gaster, Thespis.

55. UT, 68:24f.

56. UT, 51:vi:10-14

al.td[.pdr]y.bt ar	Lest Pidriya daughter of mist
tetb[d.tl]y.bt rb	run away [or] Taliya daughter of showers
. . al.m]dd.el ym	flee away . . .; lest Yam beloved of El
[qlsm.y]qlsn.wptm	[indeed] abase me or indeed
[yptn.]	[spit upon me]. (Driver)

Gaster comments,

> What Baal fears is that his enemy, Sir Sea, bludgeoned but not yet slain, may revive, creep through the windows, and abduct his brides! It is for this reason that he first insists on dispatching that monster before he consents to have the windows installed. (p. 188f.)

57. See above, p. I-i-31.

58. His tour of the kingdom, when he is absent from his throne, corresponds to the period of expiation which follows victory in the case of Indra, Apollo, and others (Fontenrose, theme 10C, p. 199). It is at this time that Baal secures his rule (UT, 51:vii: 7-12) just as Marduk "posted guards, commanding them not to let [Tiamat's] waters escape; he crossed the heavens and examined the regions" (EE, IV:139-141).

59. Gaster, Thespis, p. 126.

60. Synonyms of "radical" listed by any English dictionary are illuminating: Basic, complete, essential, extreme, fundamental, ingrained, inherent, innate, native, natural, organic, original, perfect, positive, primary, primitive, thorough, total. (New College Standard Dictionary (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1947)

61. Velde quotes an article by E. Hornung which he considers to be "epoch-making" as an explanation of the theological significance of the Apophis myth. I would extend that judgment to include its relevance for the consideration of monsters in general. Paraphrasing my own translation of Hornung's German:

> The powers of order, the Egyptian gods, are born and are mortal in so far as they are not Ur-gods, and so, again, categories of chaos. Osiris is killed and again resurrected; the sun-god and stars are born daily after Nut swallows them. Their eternity is one of the cosmic system, through death and rebirth. Apophis, on the other hand, is simply there. He and all enemies of gods are outside this circle. As the powers of chaos, they have to be surrendered. Apophis

> is charmed, stopped and punished, but never killed. He and the chaos to which he belongs are immortal. (E. Hornung, "Chaotische Bereiche in der geordneten Welt," ZAS, LXXXI [1956], p. 28-32; as quoted by Velde, p. 103-105, italics mine.)

At first glance, it seems preposterous to suggest that the monster is never killed: have we not just said that the devourer, typically, is split open and scattered? The point was made in the discussion of Enuma Elish (p. I-i-27) that it is the independent will of the monster that ceases to exist when he is "broken." His powers continue to be exercised.

Can we entertain the idea that the gods, as powers of order, all die? Osiris, Baal, Teshub, yes; but Indra, Marduk, Zeus? Yahweh? The two versions of Zeus' battle with Typhon recounted briefly above (p. I-ii- 9) differ in the one important respect that in the second, Zeus suffers temporary defeat when his "sinews" (analogue of Horus' "eye") are severed by Typhon. Fontenrose explains that the episode was later omitted as being discreditable to Zeus. He finds the "temporary defeat or death" of the Champion to be a recurrent theme of the combat myth (p. 11, theme 8A) which is to be found in all of the major myths he has presented (Table 3, p. 268). Frankfort mentions texts that tell that Marduk

> was kept a captive in or among mountains which are in the nether-world and may be considered his tomb. Riot in the city followed his disappearance, a goddess descended into his

> grave, others forcibly liberated Marduk, who was brought back to life and the light of day, and finally reunited with the goddess in marriage. (Cylinder seals [London: 1939], p. 97.)

I take this evidence as confirmation of Hornung's generalization, and explain the obscuring or absence of the motif as evidence of failure of the myth completely to do its job of alleviating the fear of death (see note 49, above): death is felt to be discreditable to the god. Or, for the death of the god has been substituted an alternative way of expressing the unity of god and monster, for instance, by attributing the same characteristics to both. Marduk is described in the same terms as Tiamat's demonic manifestations, p. I-i-21f. The reconciliation of Horus-who-is-Osiris and Seth, or the reuniting of death and life which is the dramatic climax of the myth, is eroded by "the increasing need to assign a permanent abode to evil" (Velde, p. 67) which is not exclusively Egyptian! When a people surrenders to that need and gives over the attempt to incorporate chaos in cosmos, it is doomed. Yahweh does not die. In him again is comprehended in one being the unity of life and death; which is to say that Israel, not sharing the sense of doom of the surrounding peoples, was not preoccupied with death as an enemy. It was not necessary to recognize death as a separate force which must be met and (mythologically) dealt with.

62. P. 42.

63. Ibid., p. 23.

Section iii: The Form and Fate of the Monster

We have come a long way from the surface in defining the meaning of the myth about a battle with a monster, a long way from the understanding of it merely as a nature myth about the alternation of seasons, and, in the last description, a long way from a clear visual image of a monster. Let us review the evidence of the material selected as it bears on the question of form:

ASAG is of indeterminate shape. The cursed stones are presumably part of the inimical force.[1]

VRITRA is "the serpent lying on the mountain," or the mountain itself when it is split open.[2]

KALIYA is a fire breathing serpent who lives under water.[3]

LABBU is a giant serpent with a tail.[4]

ZU flies.[5]

The form of HAHHIMAS "the paralyzer" is not specified.[6]

APOPHIS is a serpent on the mountain, again.[7]

TIAMAT is a giant female; her legs are mentioned.[8]

KUMARBI and KRONOS are fathers: defined by role rather than shape.[9]

ULLIKUMMI is a giant stone pillar.[10]

TYPHON has a hundred snake heads and breathes fire.[11]

SET changes form at will; sometimes he is a snake, or a hippopotamus.

YAM and MOT are of indeterminate shape, though Mot butts like a bull and bites like a serpent. Anat contends with various monsters among whom is a seven-headed serpentine creature.

The written evidence is scanty, various, inconclusive. Fortunately, we have a large collection of pictorial evidence, mostly in the form of cylinder seals but also including rock carvings, statues, bas-reliefs. From a careful study of these we can get an idea of how the mythological figures were visualized by contemporaries of the myth-makers. The glossary attached to Volume 1 of the Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections[12] distinguishes between "Demon: A creature with animal head and human body, often depicted with wings, sometimes with animal paws instead of arms; usually such demons are shown acting like human beings"; and "Monster: A creature composed of two or more animals but occasionally shown with human head; in general, monsters are portrayed acting like animals." But does that help us any further toward an understanding of what a monster is? Granted that myths are extra-literary,[13] the expression of a myth in pictures is different from its expression in words,[14] just as the kind of reality recreated from what one sees on a television screen is different from that recreated from what one hears over the radio. There is no doubt that a fuller understanding of monsters derives from a knowledge of both: knowing the story as it is told in words helps one to interpret what is going on in the picture, and the picture can clarify the words by reducing their ambiguity.[15]

The temptation to draw a diagram is strong.[16] However, in reducing ambiguity a picture also limits meaning; there is a danger of over-determination. (Particularly, what the monster is in terms of time is difficult to express in two dimensions.) In fact, the one characteristic of form that recurs most frequently is indeterminacy! His very vagueness of form is expressive of the nature of the monster as the spirit of disorder. Precisely because formlessness is intolerable, he is given a name and physical attributes, but the threat he poses is acknowledged in his (often) composite form which doesn't fit into any "natural" category.[17]

Furthermore, definitions based on similarity of outward form can be very misleading. I would like to extend the spectrum of battle stories with the inclusion of the following myths which illustrate this point. One is a story about a dragon that is not of the "monster type" (Illuyankas); the other is a story of the monster type (i.e. following the pattern: repression, release, control) in which there are no "monsters" (Irra). The position is maintained that monsters in whatever form, in large or small roles, are all ultimately related to the devourer who must be opened.

Illuyankas

The Hittite myth associated with the New Year (Puruli) festival which tells how the weather god slew the dragon is always a prime piece of comparative evidence in discussions of dragon battles.[18] There are illustrations, apparently of this story, which picture the enemy as fiery and serpentine;[19] the occasion of the recital of the myth leads one to associate Illuyankas with Vritra, Asag, etc. as a withholder of subterranean waters.[20] But the myth itself, in its earlier and later versions, has a very different structure from those outlined above.[21]

The older version.-- In the text, it says this was the cult legend of the Puruli festival, a version which they no longer tell. In their first encounter the dragon vanquishes the storm god. The god orders a feast to be prepared. The goddess Inaras persuades a mortal, Hupasiyas, to aid her by promising to sleep with him. Then she lures the dragon and his family to the feast where they eat and drink so much they are unable to descend to their lair, and Hupasiyas ties up the dragon. The storm god kills him. Inaras puts Hupasiyas in her house admonishing him not to look out the window lest he see his wife and children. When she returns "from the country" he begs to go home. Inaras knows by this that he broke her command, and kills him. The house is put in the care of the king. (In the sections that follow "rain" appears several times.)

Later version.-- The dragon vanquished the storm god and took his heart and eyes. The storm god produced a son by a mortal woman, and planned that he take the daughter of the dragon for his wife. The son asks for and is given the heart and eyes by way of dowry, which he then gives to his father. Now the storm god leaves to go to the sea for battle, but the son warns him "Count me as with (him)! Spare me not" and so the storm god kills both the dragon and his own son.

Analysis

In both stories there are elements that are familiar in the dragon battle tradition (female luring, feast, maiming, bearing a son to avenge oneself). But the focus is not on the storm god's victory, achieved in two different ways, but on the human hero's response. The conquest of the dragon is incidental to his real problem, which in the first version is whether to obey the goddess and live in her house, or to risk loss of life in the hope of home. It is the choice Odysseus made on Kalypso's island. The goddess' charms, the promise of immortality, the hardships of sea-faring weigh nothing against the possibility of achieving home as king, husband, father. In the second version, loyalty to host outweighs loyalty to kin, or one could say the choice is to survive dishonorably, by breaking the bonds on which society depends, or to live and die honorably, fighting to preserve them. The dilemma is the same one that Achilleus faced in the Iliad. The "battle with the dragon" is a strange setting in which to find these twin themes expounded, but it could be reasoned that the maintenance of social order depends on change: succession of generations, and of families (the son-in-law owes loyalty to his wife's family, now) and that change is made possible by the dragon's defeat. The myth of Kumarbi is a similar demonstration of the value of time: Anu cannot regain his place in power. But once the obstructing Ullikummi is toppled, Anu's heir (produced by the same means that felled Anu) is free to rule in his name.[22]

The storm god loses his son either way, in the Hittite version of the tale, which shows how independent of the "orthodox" monster tradition it is.

Irra

The story of Irra's rampage is similarly oriented in its concern for cosmic order as expressed in social order, but the shape is much more familiar. In his discussion of Akkadian myths in his Mythologies of the Ancient World, Kramer includes the little known myth of Irra, the god of pestilence.[23] The "fearful slaughterer" who "lays waste the plain" is urged by his seven-bodied weapon, Sibbi, whose "breath is death" to rise up and march forth to terrify and convulse man, beast, god, king, demon, mountain and sea. His vizier Ishum, god of fire, tries to dissuade him. Irra explains that he intends to displace

Marduk in power by persuading him to go on a purificatory pilgrimage "because man feared not my utterance, and heeded not the word of Marduk, but acted according to his own heart."[24] Marduk is reluctant to leave for fear the gods of the Netherworld will destroy the land but Irra is successful, and, now in power, reveals his evil intentions:

> I will speak, and the sun will drop its rays, I will cover with darkness the face of day; who was born on a day of rain will be buried on a day of thirst, who went forth on a well-watered path will return by a road of dust . . . I shall kill the son, and his father will bury him.

His devastation is described in terms of barrenness, darkness and drought. Ishum pleads with Irra to quit his outrageous behavior and finally Irra turns his wrath outward, against the enemies of Akkad, so that the rivers again flow, the land is productive, light shines.

The purpose of the story, as stated in the epilogue, is to celebrate or recognize Irra, as a preventive measure.

> To the house where this tablet is stored, should Irra be irate and Sibbi rage, the sword of slaughter will come not near, peace and well being will be its lot.[25]

Analysis

The villain's will is repressive. By persuasion rather than force Ishum brings about a change of heart, so that Irra's rage is quelled, with the result that the inhibited forces of life are freed. The separability of the god and his wrath is expressed by personifying the weapon, "the seven-bodied," as a demonic will which Irra can choose whether or not to accept as his own. Irra is a monster when there is disorder, when "everyone acts according to his own heart." In addition to Irra, Kumarbi and Kronos have been described as monsters on the basis of the character of their actions, though there is nothing in the myths to suggest that they were conceived as dragon-form. My conclusion is that the question of meaning can reasonably be discussed independently of the question of form.

However, there is a question related to form which is relevant to meaning, and that is whether the identity of the monster is maintained after he is defeated. (Is he killed, or captured?) The varieties of resolution are represented below:

The *hursag* is made of stones that are blessed or cursed depending on their part in the battle. Something remains of ASAG, but nothing worthy of the name.

VRITRA and TIAMAT are cut in two but not annihilated.

KALIYA is given a separate place.

APOPHIS is bound, his head is cut off, he is scattered in pieces "every day."

SETH becomes a servant of the new Horus.

TYPHON and the Titans are bound but remain a source of power.

In summary, the conversion of destructive to constructive power is represented in two ways: 1) When the force is destructive it is dragon-form; when it is converted, it is transformed, the monster is dead (at least temporarily). Life has gone out of the destructive impulse: Asag, Tiamat, Apophis. 2) The force is personified as a monster who maintains his form whether the force is turned to destructive or constructive ends, depending on his relation to the orderer (the hero). When he is subservient he is good; when independent, without intelligent direction, he is bad: Seth, the Titans. View 2) is the more sophisticated of the two, recognizing as it does the underlying continuity of force beneath its changing forms, and the possibility of reconversion.[26]

Form and Fate of the Monster

These two conceptions of the monster's fate can be coordinated with the two definitions of the monster given on page I-ii-18. In parallel form:

THE DEVOURER, sometimes represented as
THE PRIMEVAL EARTH-MOUND, or unformed
MATTER, is
KILLED (transformed) This action consists of being
SPLIT OPEN and
SCATTERED IN PIECES (the parts are separated).

THE SEPARATOR or dissipator, sometimes represented as
THE PRIMEVAL SEA, or unbound

ENERGY, is

CAPTURED and put to work. In various ways it is
 expressed that he is

BOUND, his parts

GATHERED together.

When one attempts to classify the monsters according to one or the other of these models, he runs into difficulty immediately. Too often, one monster manifests characteristics of both types, like Tiamat who is simultaneously a separator and a swallower.[27] Or the actions can be arranged in a sequence: Asag is split, and then his parts are gathered. The opposition of the models is resolved in the single concept of a monster: extremes of whatever sort are monstrous.[28]

Corresponding to the particular threat posed by the monster is the corrective action of the god, who is sometimes a separator like Indra, and sometimes a gatherer, like Zeus (or both). But the effectiveness of the god is most convincingly expressed when he subsumes the powers of the monster--when he retaliates in such a way that the monster is left without a monstrous role to play, because his characteristic activity has been made _legitimate_! Either the activity of the god compliments the activity of the monster, in which case he may be equally destructive: Ninurta is responsible for producing a flood; Krishna is responsible for destroying trees by fire. Then constructive mediation must follow, in which the alternation of the two types of activity is regulated. Or, the god himself performs the monster's role: Marduk, gigantic and breathing Fire, wearing "terror-inspiring-splendor" like Tiamat's demons, encompasses the encompasser in his net. He is then responsible for regulating the exercise of Tiamat's powers, which are necessary to the maintenance of the cosmos; Vritra says to Indra, "Thou art now what I was before." The difference between the monster and the god who performs the same acts is the principle of regulation. The dying god can be understood within this context, as one who conquers death by making it legal. By dying, he acclaims death as a good. Once it has in this way been given the arbitrary nature of a law, death has been taken out of the realm of chaos.

Once the monster's powers have been incorporated into the cosmos, the god to whom such achievement is ascribed, "the king of the gods," becomes identified with his predecessors. Having listened to the recital of Marduk's names, Ea rejoiced, saying, "He whose names his fathers have magnified, he is even as I; his name shall (therefore) be Ea!"[29] The characteristic of the "older" gods, that makes them impotent in the face of the monster[30] is precisely this achievement of unity within themselves. The older gods represent the forces of both the monster and the hero. Kaliya persuades Krishna to spare him because they are both parts of Vishnu; Tvashtri is both the creator of Vritra and of the weapons with which Indra slays him. El supports Yam[31] as well as Baal; Mot is "beloved of El."[32] Atum favors Seth in his trial with Horus,[33] though Horus is Atum.[34] Teshub is uncertain whether he can "soften Ea's heart" in his favor.[35] Apparently the dichotomy between good and evil that appears to be so clear at close view, from a greater perspective dissolves into unity. It requires youth to be blind enough to see it and willing enough to give battle, and in the process a hierarchy of value is achieved, which can be maintained for a time.

Notes to Section iii of Chapter I

1. P. I-i-6.
2. P. I-i-8.
3. P. I-i-14.
4. P. I-i-15.
5. P. I-i-16.
6. P. I-i-17.
7. P. I-1-17.
8. P. I-i-22.
9. P. I-ii-18.
10. P. I-ii-7.
11. P. I-ii-9.
12. (Pantheon Books, Bollingen series XIV, 1948). Volume I Text, The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library, catalogued and edited by Edith Porada in collaboration with Briggs Buchanan, Prefaced by Albrecht Goetze.
13. "There is, then, a particular kind of story which has a value in itself--a value independent of its embodiment in any literary work." (C. S. Lewis, An Experiment in Criticism [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961], p. 41.) See also note I-i-8.
14. To understand the designs we must realize the peculiar conditions of pictorial representation. The artist is more definitely committed to precision than the author. He can but render one scene and, on the whole, but one aspect of his many-sided deity. But by the addition

> of symbols or attributes he may hint at a wider characterization than he is able directly to present. (Frankfort, Cylinder seals, p. 113.)

15.
> It is valuable to realize . . . the conditions under which motives might be translated into glyptic art, and the necessary limitations of our insight into these matters. Only if figures were accompanied by inscriptions should we be able to pass beyond the realm of surmise. (Ibid., p. 67.)

16. See above, p. I-i-29.

17. The most common imgredient in the make-up of the demon's form is the snake or serpent. There are many possible explanations for this symbolism: Because it sheds its skin the snake has become a symbol of immortality. It is a symbol of time as an animated circle, or better, a spiral, suggested by its coil; it is a symbol of transition because it is found on land as well as in water; it is a symbol of water because its movement is continuous, undulent--we speak of rivers that "snake" through the plain. It is a symbol of fertility by its resemblance to a phallus. But to discover why the monster is so often represented as a serpent would require an effort of research as extensive as that expended on the question of the meaning of the battle myth. It is a separate question.

18. Cf. Gaster, Thespis, p. 245f.

19. Gurney, p. 183.

20. Gaster, Thespis, p. 245.

21. Summary from Goetze, ANET, p. 125f.

22. Above, p. I-ii-2.

23. P. 127f.

24. See reference to Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 97 in note I-ii-61.

25. On the prudence of acknowledging Seth, see above p. I-ii-14 and Velde, p. 56. Irra is very close in character to the furies of Greek mythology as they are represented by Aeschylus in the Oresteia. The primitive spirit of wrath is described by Apollo's priestess as a "startling company of women . . . Or not women I think I call them rather gorgons, only not gorgons either, since their shape is not the same." (Oresteia, trans. Richard Lattimore [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953], "Eumenides," l. 46f.) "They are wreathed in a tangle of snakes" says Orestes (Ibid., "Choephori," l. 1049). They blight the city when its ruler "acts according to his own heart." They insist that "there are times when fear is good. It must keep its watchful place at the heart's controls." (Ibid., "Eumen.," l. 516f.) Once legal authority is established, however, they are persuaded by Athene to exercise their powers within the new order. They become the source of fertility, chanting a spell upon the land:

> Let no barren deadly sickness creep and kill. Flocks fatten. Earth be kind to them, with double fold of fruit, in time appointed for its yielding. Secret child of earth, her hidden wealth, bestow blessing and surprise of gods.
> (*Ibid*., "Eumen.," l. 946.)

and their destructive aspect is directed outward against the enemies of Athens:

> Civil War
> fattening on men's ruin shall
> not thunder in our city. Let
> not the dry dust that drinks
> the black blood of citizens
> through passion for revenge
> and bloodshed for bloodshed
> be given our state to prey upon.
> Let them render grace for grace.
> Let love be their common will;
> let them hate with single heart.
> Much wrong in the world thereby is healed.
> (*Ibid*., l. 976f.)

In both cases the monster is also the god of fertility and it is his relation to legitimate authority that determines which side of his character is manifest (as was also true of Seth).

26. Disorder by implication is unlimited, no pattern has been realised in it, but its potential for patterning is indefinite. This is why, though we seek to create order, we do not simply condemn disorder. We recognize that it is destructive to existing patterns; also that it has potentiality. It symbolises both danger and power. (Douglas, p. 94.)

27. Above, p. I-ii-20.

28. See concluding sentence of section ii, above.

29. *EE* VII:138f.

30. *EE* II:49ff.; *UT*, 137:23.

31. *UT*, 129:16.

32. *UT*, 51:vii:46.

33. See above, note I-ii-40.

34. See above, p. I-ii-12.

35. See above, p. I-ii-8.

CHAPTER II

THE BATTLE MYTH AS IT APPEARS IN THE BIBLE[1]

Introduction

The first step in approaching the biblical material is to establish clearly the facts: what possibilities do the data leave open to us? Since Gunkel has discussed the biblical passages so thoroughly, a re-presentation of them is justified only by a different approach. Where he elaborated upon the suggestions supplied by the remnants to reconstruct the myth in as full a form as his knowledge of comparative mythology would permit, we will present the data as precisely as we can, carefully comparing it with the Ugaritic material, and adding conjectures of our own in an attempt to come to a conclusion about 1) whether or not it is possible to correlate variant forms of the myth with particular names for the monster, and 2) how the various monsters or names are related.

The procedure will be to examine all passages in which words possibly connoting "monster," whether sea- or land-beast, are found in the Old Testament. These include Rahab, Leviathan, Tannin; Peten, Nahash; Tehom, Yam; Mot, Ereṣ, Behemoth. From the passages in which these appear as names, information will be derived concerning their attributes, what they do, and what is done to them.

Of these attributes and actions, some belong to more than one, some appear on comparison with the Ugaritic material to have mythological significance, and others are for the time being accepted as poetic hypostatizations. Each "name" will be considered separately. For Rahab, Leviathan and Tannin, all the passages in which the word occurs will be presented first with translations, and discussion will follow. For the rest, the relevant texts will be incorporated in the discussion.

Section 1: The Sea-Monster

Rahab

Is. 51:9-10 9) עורי עורי לבשי עז זרוע יהוה עורי כימי קדם
דרות עולמים הלוא את היא המחצבת[2] רהב מחוללת תנין:
10) הלוא את היא המחרבת ים מי תהום רבה השמה
מעמקי ים דרך לעבר גאולים:

> 9) Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord; awake, as in days of old, the generations of long ago. Was it not you that hewed Rahab, that pierced the dragon? 10) Was it not you that dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep; that made the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over?

Ps. 89:10-11 10) אתה מושל בגאות[3] הים בשוא[4] גליו אתה תשבחם;[5]
11) אתה דכאת[6] כחלל[7] רהב בזרוע עזך פזרת אויביך;

> 10) You rule the swelling of the sea; when its waves rise, you still them. 11) You crushed Rahab like a carcass, you scattered your enemies with your mighty arm.

Job 26:12-13 12) בכחו רגע[8] הים ובתבונתו מחץ רהב:
13) ברוחו שמים שפרה[9] חללה ידו נחש בריח;[10]

> 12) By his power he quelled the Sea, by his cunning he smote Rahab. 13) By his wind he bagged Yam, his hand pierced the slippery serpent.[11]

Job 9:13 אלוה לא ישיב אפו תחתו שחחו עזרי רהב:

> God will not turn back his anger; beneath him bowed Rahab's followers.[12]

Ps. 87:4 אזכיר רהב ובבל לידעי הנה פלשת וצור עם כוש זה ילד שם:

> Among those who know me I mention Rahab[13] and Babylon; behold, Philistia and Tyre, with Ethiopia-- "This one was born there," they say.

Is. 30:7 ומצרים הבל וריק יעזרו לכן קראתי לזאת רהב הם שבת:

> For Egypt's help is worthless and empty, therefore I have called her "Rahab who sits still." (Or "the thwarted Rahab," reading Hoph. part.)

The name appears as an epithet in Ps. 40:5 אשרי הגבר
אשר שם יהוה מבטחו ולא פנה אל רהבים ושטי כזב:

> Blessed is the man who makes the Lord his trust, who does not turn to rahabim, to those who go astray after false gods!

Verbal forms are found, meaning, "to act like Rahab":

Is. 14:4 ונשאת המשל הזה על מלך בבל ואמרת איך שבת נגש
שבתה מדהבה:[14]

> Take up this taunt against the king of Babylon: "How the oppressor has ceased, the tyrant has ceased!"

Is. 3:5 ונגש העם איש באיש... ירהבו הנער בזקן והנקלה בנכבד:

> The people will oppress one another, . . . the youth will tyrannize[15] the elder, and the base fellow the honorable.

Rahab is the (masculine) proper name of a mythological beast. It is found only in Israelite tradition, and is in some passages identified with Egypt.

Open reference to the myth is found at Is. 51:9, Ps. 89:10-11, Job 26:12-13, 9:13. Just as in the time of the beginning, before creation (ימי קדם Is. 51:9, cf. Pr. 8:22)[16] Yahweh pierced a monster (חלל תנין), so had he hewn Rahab (חצב).[17] This time is referred to in Ps. 89:11 where, while extolling God's creative power, the poet recalls that he crushed (דכא) Rahab "like one who has been pierced" (חלל), and in Job 26:12 where the smiting (מחץ) of Rahab is parallel to the piercing of the נחש בריח. Taking these three references together, תנין, חלל and נחש בריח are parallel to רהב and all are pierced (חלל);[18] they might conceivably be designations of Rahab.[19] From Job 9:13 we learn that Rahab had helpers who were reduced to groveling at the feet of their conqueror.[20]

Rahab is a nick-name for Egypt in Ps. 87:4. Why this name should be so used rather than Leviathan, for example, and why it is the victory over Rahab that is associated with the Exodus from Egypt (Is. 51:9) is explained if they depend on Is. 30:7. The prophet says it is foolish for Judah to seek the help of Egypt against Assyria for Egypt is a broken reed, her help is worthless.[21] "Therefore I call her רהב המשבת—Rahab, the one who has been stopped." Egypt is as impotent as the monster Yahweh crushed in the beginning. That Rahab should be Egypt makes sense, as Rahab is the proto-type of the defeated-by-God; it is by God's defeat of Pharaoh that Israel was created.[22] The question remains why the nick-name for Egypt should be Rahab, rather than Leviathan.

The use of the plural in Ps. 40:5 implies a generalizing of the name, "Blessed is the man who does not turn to rahabim (i.e. powers-that-can-be-defeated-by-Yahweh)" as a way of expressing contempt for foreign gods, or, for those who worship them.[23] Foreign gods are called שדים:

Dt. 32:17 יזבחו לשדים לא אלה אלהים לא ידעום חדשים
מקרב באו לא שערום אבתיכם:

"They sacrificed to demons which were no gods, to gods they had never known, to new gods that had come in of late, whom your fathers had never dreaded." The substitution of רהבים for אלהים would serve to denigrate the gods of other nations in the same way that the terms אלילים, and מֹלֶך do;[24] but such a usage would also imply that רהב had had mythological significance (i.e. had been recognized as divine) at one time. Or, the expression שטי כזב ‖ רהבים could conceivably refer to Egypt and allies like her. The sense of the verb formed from the noun, however, retains the connotation of oppressive power. In Is. 14:4 and 3:5, the parallel to a verbal form of רהב, נגש, suggests the prehistory of Rahab. He was an oppressive tyrant whose power was broken by Yahweh in the pre-creation battle, when he (accompanied by helpers) was hewn, crushed, smitten, stopped (דכא, מחץ, שבת, חצב).

In three of the four references to the myth, the crushing of Rahab is parallel to and may be another expression for the control (שם שפרה, רגע, שבח, משל, חרב) of the sea.[25] However, there is another possibility. The actions may once have been sequential: after the monster was killed by being broken open, the waters thus released had to be controlled. Strictly speaking, on the basis of the verbs which apply to him specifically, there is no ambiguity about Rahab's fate, as there is about the fate of the other monsters. To be sure, he is identified with Egypt (Is. 30:7, Ps. 87:4) which still exists, but it is precisely this close association with Egypt that makes the idea of permanent defeat possible, and allows the verb to carry the original connotation of oppression.[26] It is possible to see things in terms of black and white only from a very short time-perspective; the closer the historical identification of Rahab, the simpler the evaluation of him. The significance of the Exodus is that Yahweh at that time delivered Israel from oppression. The pre-creation monster, having more profound potential for good, cannot be so easily dispensed with.[27]

Leviathan

Is. 27:1 ופקד יהוה בחרבו הקשה והגדולה והחזקה על לויתן
נחש ברח ועל לויתן נחש עקלתון[28] והרג את התנין אשר בים׃

> The Lord will punish with his hard and great and strong sword Leviathan the slippery serpent, Leviathan the crooked serpent, and he will slay the dragon that is in the sea.

Ps. 74:12-17

כלה (12) ואלהים מלכי מקדם פעל ישועות בקרב הארץ:
13) אתה פררת[29] בעזך ים שברת ראשי תנינים[30] על המים: 14) אתה רצצת
ראשי לויתן תתננו מאכל לעם לציים: 15) אתה בקעת מעין ונחל
אתה הושבת נהרות איתן: 16) לך יום אף לך לילה אתה הכינות מאור
ושמש: 17) אתה הצבת כל גבולות ארץ קיץ וחרף אתה יצרתם:

12) Destroy,[31] O God, the kings from the East, achieve victory in the middle of the earth.
13) You broke apart Yam by your might; you shattered the heads of the dragon (sg.) on the waters. 14) You crushed the heads of Leviathan, you gave him as food for the inhabitants of the wilderness. 15) You cleaved open springs and brooks; you dried up ever-flowing streams.
16) Yours is the day, yours also the night, you established the lights and the sun. 17) You fixed all the bounds of the earth; you made summer and winter.

Job 40:25-30

תמשך לויתן בחכה ובחבל תשקיע לשנו: 26) התשים
אגמון באפו וחוח תקוב לחיו: 27) הירבה אליך תחנונים אם ידבר
אליך רכות: 28) היכרת ברית עמך תקחנו לעבד עולם: 29) התשחק
בו כצפור ותקשרנו לנערותיך: 30) יכרו עליו חברים יחצוהו בין
כנענים:

25) Can you draw out Leviathan with a fishhook, or press down his tongue with a cord? 26) Can you put a rope in his nose, or pierce his jaw with a hook?
27) Will he make many supplications to you? Will he speak to you soft words? 28) Will he make a covenant with you to take him for your servant for ever? 29) Will you play with him as with a bird, or will you put him on leash for your maidens?
30) Will traders bargain over him? Will they divide him up among the merchants?

Job 3:8-9

יקבהו אררי יום[32] העתידים ערר לויתן: 9) יחשכו כוכבי
נשפו יקו לאור ואין ואל יראה בעפעפי שחר:

8) Let those curse [the day of Job's birth] who curse Yam, who are skilled to rouse Leviathan.
9) Let the stars of its dawn be dark; let it hope for light, but have none, nor see the eyelids of the morning;

Ps. 104:25:26 זה הים גדול ורחב ידים שם רמש ואין מספר חיות קטנות עם גדלות: (26 שם אניות יהלכון לויתן זה יצרת לשחק בו:

> 25) Yonder is the sea, great and wide, which teems with things innumerable, living things both small and great. 26) There go the ships, Leviathan which [whom] you formed to sport in it.

UT. 67:1:1-3

k tmḫṣ.ltn.bṯn.brḥ
tkly.bṯn. ʿqltn[33]
šlyṭ[34].d šbʿt.rašm

> When you smote Leviathan the slippery serpent [Gordon: evil dragon] made an end of the crooked serpent, the tyrant with seven heads,[35]

Leviathan is the most familiar of the biblical monsters, partly because of the extended description of him in Job, partly because of his popularity in post-biblical Jewish literature. The word לויתן, always a masculine proper name, has been derived from לוה suggested by the Arabic لَوَى 'turn,' 'twist'; Assyrian lamû 'surround,' 'encircle,' with the addition of f. ת and the ending ָן.[36] It appears to be a foreign loan word. There is no reason not to suppose that the Ugaritic equivalent ltn[37] also derives from the same source.

In the one clear reference to him in the Ugaritic texts,[38] we find Leviathan associated with two kinds of serpents and a seven-headed monster. Until there is reason to assume otherwise, we take mḫṣ and kly as a synonymous parallel and read bṯn and šlyṭ in descriptive apposition to ltn. This image is confirmed by Is. 27:1 where Leviathan is characterized by the same epithets.[39] He has been smitten (מחץ) and made an end of (כלה), apparently by Baal, UT, 67:1:1.

Turning now to the Hebrew references, we learn from Ps. 74:14 that Yahweh has crushed (רצץ) his heads and given him for food to the creatures of the wilderness.

Job 40:25-30 makes reference to drawing out Leviathan with a hook and holding him by a nose-rope.[40] Now it is generally understood that the author of Job, in describing Behemoth and Leviathan, is speaking of the buffalo or some such large beast, and the crocodile. The mythical allusions and the names are poetic hyperbole.[41] Therefore, we can draw conclusions from this passage about Leviathan's characteristics only with the help of confirming evidence from a less ambiguous source; the distinction between crocodile and mythical serpent cannot, in the nature of things, be firmly drawn. Read with an eye to possible allusions to the myth, the passage leads us to picture Leviathan pleading with his captor who makes him a slave, plays with him, divides him among merchants. The battle had been terrific, once a god courageous enough to meet him had been found[42] and the battle taunts had been exchanged.[43] Pope's translation differs from the RSV most radically in 41:1-4

הן תחלתו נכזבה הגם אל מראיו יטל: ב) לא אכזר כי יעורנו ומי הוא לפני
יתיצב: ג) מי הקדימני ואשלם תחת כל השמים לי הוא: 4) לא אחריש בדיו

ודבר גבורות וחין ערכו:

> 1) Lo, any hope is false; were not the gods cast down at sight of him? 2) Is he not fierce when one rouses him? Who could stand before him? 3) Who could confront him unscathed, under the whole heaven, who? 4) Did I not silence his boasting, by the powerful word Hayyin prepared?[44]

and see v. 17 משתו יגורו אלים משברים יתחטאן "At his terror the gods are afrighted; with consternation prostrate."[45]

The image of Leviathan being roused to battle and taunted with a curse is strengthened by Job 3:8, where Job, in a vain attempt to call back his own existence, wishes his birth-day might be consigned with the monster to darkness. Gunkel takes ארר and ערר as antonymous parallelism, "to charm asleep"[46] and "to rouse from enchantment." Charming takes away the power; waking, which is accomplished through magic actions, reinstates the power that was taken away by charming. He who has such power should curse (קבה) Job's birth-day which was as perverse as the primeval monster. Let it be dark, as befits his reign.[47] The curse is an integral part of the pre-battle ritual,[48] and has been pronounced against Leviathan as the text of this Aramaic incantation bowl makes apparent:

> I have . . . confronted the evil foes [and] said to them "if ye have in any way sinned against Abuma son of Gribta [etc.] . . . I am enchanting you with the spell of the Sea, and the spell of Leviathan the dragon . . . I am bringing down upon you the ban and decree and excommunication which were set upon Mount Hermon and upon Leviathan the dragon and upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah.[49]

The parallel between Job 40:29a התשחק בו כצפור and Ps. 104:26 לויתן זה יצרת לשחק בו is conspicuous. What is interesting here is that the warring Leviathan is found in Job where there is no reference to the time of creation, whereas in the context of this creation hymn, where one might expect to find Yahweh's primeval foe (Ps. 74:12f., Is. 51:9, Ps. 89:10f.), Leviathan is just another creature, God's plaything.[50] One suspects a conscious attempt to refute the implication of the myth that not all the world has always been subject to God's will. Gunkel interprets Ps. 104:26 and Job 40:26 in terms of each other: God puts a rope in Leviathan's nose, lets it play out, and pulls it in again. This "playing" is a figurative way of describing God's control of the tides.[51] It also expresses very well that the point of capturing rather than killing the monster is to gain some benefit from his powers as he is allowed to exercise them, within limits.

There appears to be a discrepancy between the conception of Leviathan's fate implied by UT, 67:i:1 and Ps. 74:14, which describe the demise of the monster, and Job 40:25f. and Ps. 104:26 which portray him as a captured animal. The fact that he can still be roused (Job 3:8) and that his final punishment will take place ביום ההוא (Is. 27:1) supports the second view (and distinguishes Leviathan from Rahab). Gunkel takes this discrepancy as evidence of variant traditions, distinguished on the basis of whether or not the monster is killed or captured. This is not necessary, if one considers the two images to be two different ways of expressing the fact that the defeated monster is incorporated into the created order. He is either power harnessed by God (and therefore subject to his will), or material, i.e. the (dead) body, devoid of independent will.[52]

Altogether, the information about Leviathan to be gathered from the Ugaritic texts and the Bible is very scanty compared with his reputation as it is reflected in later legend.[53] The fact that he played an important part in mythology is attested to by several cylinder seals picturing a battle with a multi-headed dragon[54] and by the references to the curses against him on the Aramaic incantation bowls. The fact that more is not said in the Bible about the battle with Leviathan may indicate: that the myth was not native to Canaan--the name has been analyzed as a foreign loan[55]--having become more important as an element of common tradition later with the inclusion of new population. Or: it flourished in popular tradition but was repressed in the official circles which are responsible for the literature we have. The explanation of the lack in Ugaritic could then be scarcity of surviving texts.

Tannin[56]

Job 7:12 הים אני אם תנין כי תשים עלי משמר:

Am I the sea or a monster that you set a guard over me?

The variant form תנים appears in Ezekiel:

Ez. 29:3-6 3) הנני עליך פרעה מלך מצרים התנים הגדול הרבץ
בתוך יאריו אשר אמר לי יארי ואני עשיתני: 4) ונתתי חחיים בלחייך
והדבקתי דגת יאריך בקשקשתיך והעליתיך מתוך יאריך ואת
כל דגת יאריך בקשקשתיך תדבק: 5) ונטשתיך המדברה אותך
ואת כל דגת יאריך על פני השדה תפול לא תאסף ולא תקבץ
לחית הארץ ולעוף השמים נתתיך לאכלה: 6) וידעו כל ישבי מצרים
כי אני יהוה יען היתם משענת קנה לבית ישראל:

3) Behold I am against you, Pharoah King of Egypt, the great dragon that lies in the midst of his streams, that says, "my Nile is my own; I made it." 4) I will put hooks in your jaws, and make the fish of your streams stick to your scales; and I will draw you up out of the midst of your streams, with all the fish of your streams which stick to your scales 5) and I will cast you forth into the wilderness, you and all the fish of your streams; you shall fall upon the open field and not be gathered and buried (   ). To the beasts of the earth and to the birds of the air I have given you as food. 6) Then all the inhabitants of Egypt shall know that I am the lord. Because you have been a staff of reed to the house of Israel;

Ez. 32:2-8 2b) כפיר גוים נדמית ואתה כתנים בימים ותגח בנהרותיך
ותדלח מים ברגליך ותרפס נהרותם: 3) כה אמר אדני יהוה
ופרשתי עליך את רשתי בקהל עמים רבים והעלוך בחרמי:
4) ונטשתיך בארץ על פני השדה אטילך והשכנתי עליך כל עוף
השמים והשבעתי ממך חית כל הארץ: 5) ונתתי את בשרך
על ההרים ומלאתי הגאות רמותך: 6) והשקיתי ארץ צפתך

מדמך אל ההרים ואפקים ימלאון ממך: 7) וכסיתי בכבותך שמים
והקדרתי את ככביהם שמש בענן אכסנו וירח לא יאיר אורו:
8) כל מאורי אור בשמים אקדירם עליך ונתתי חשך על ארצך נאם אדני יהוה:

2) You consider yourself a lion among the nations, but you are like a dragon in the seas; you burst forth in your rivers, trouble the waters with your feet and foul their rivers. 3) Thus says the Lord God: I will throw my net over you with a host of many peoples; and I will haul you up in my dragnet. 4) And I will cast you on the ground, on the open field I will fling you, and will cause all the birds of the air to settle on you, and I will gorge the beasts of the whole earth with you. 5) I will strew your flesh upon the mountains, and fill the valleys with your carcass. 6) I will drench the land even to the mountains with your flowing blood; and the watercourses will be full of you. 7) When I blot you out, I will cover the heavens, and make their stars dark; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give its light. 8) All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over you, and put darkness upon your land.

Jer. 51:34

אכלנו הממנו נבוכדראצר מלך בבל הציגנו כלי ריק
בלענו כתנין מלא כרשו מעדני הדיחנו

Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon has devoured me, he has crushed me; he has made me an empty vessel, he has swallowed me like a monster; he has filled his belly with my delicacies, he has rinsed me out.

Ps. 44:20

כי דכיתנו במקום תנים ותכס עלינו בצלמות

You have broken us in the place of "jackals" and covered us with deep darkness.

Ex. 7:12

וישליכו איש מטהו ויהיו לתנינם ויבלע מטה אהרן את מטתם

Every man cast down his rod and they became serpents. But Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods.

Gen. 1:21

ויברא אלהים את התנינם הגדלים ואת כל נפש החיה
הרמשת אשר שרצו המים

And God created the great sea monsters, and every living creature that creeps, with which the waters swarm,

Ps. 148:7 הללו את יהוה מן הארץ תנינים וכל תהמות:

Praise the Lord from the earth, you sea monsters and all deeps,

Dt. 32:33 חמת תנינם יינם וראש פתנים אכזר;

Their wine is the poison of serpents, and the cruel venom of asps.

Ps. 91:13 על שחל ופתן תדרך תרמס כפיר ותנין;

You will tread upon the lion and the adder, the young lion and the serpent you will trample under foot.

ʿnt III:34ff.

mn.eb.yp[ʿ.]lb'l ṣrt	How many foes rose up against Baal, enemies
lrkb.ʿrpt.l mḫšt.mdd	against the rider on the clouds? Verily I have smitten
el ym.l klt.nhr.el[.]rbm	Yam beloved of El, made an end of the mighty god Nahar;
l eštbm[57].tnn.ešbm[n]h	verily I have muzzled the tannin, muzzled him
mḫšt.bšn.ʿqltn	(and) smitten the twisted serpent,
šlyṭ.d.šbʿt.rašm	the tyrant with seven heads;
mḫšt.mdd elm.ar[š][58]	I have smitten the monster loved of El,
ṣmt.ʿgl.el.ʿtk	vanquished El's rebellious calf,
mḫšt.klbt.elm ešt	smitten El's bitch the fire,

klt.bt.el.žbb.emtḫṣ w	made an end of El's daughter the blazing flame. I have fought and
etrt.ḫrṣ.ṭrd.bʿl	become possessed of the gold of him who drove Baal forth
bmrym.ṣpn.mš ṣṣ wʿṣr	from the heights of the north, dragged (him) by the forelock and slit
udnh.gršh.lkse.mlkh	his ears, banished him from the throne of his kingship,
lnḫt.lkḥt.drkth	from the resting place the seat of his dominion.
mnm.eb.ypʿ.lbʿl ṣrt	How many foes will rise up against Baal, enemies
lrkb.ʿrpt	against the rider on the clouds?

Whereas Rahab and Leviathan are never mentioned together in the same context, tannin appears once parallel to Rahab (Is. 51:9) and twice parallel to Leviathan (Ps. 74:13, Is. 27:1). Its appearance with the article (Is. 27:1, Ez. 29:3, (32:2) "the monster") and in plural form (Gen. 1:21 התנינם "the sea monsters" and Dt. 32:33, (Ex. 7:12) תנינם "serpents") implies that its sense as a proper noun is weaker than that of Leviathan or Rahab. Therefore in poetic passages where the absence of the article cannot guide us, tannin can be read (alone, parallel or in apposition to Rahab or Leviathan) as a generic term, "the monster." The conclusion from an examination of the relevant passages is that there is no case in which תנין must be read as a proper noun. The next question must be whether there is any other evidence in the passages in which tannin appears to distinguish him from Leviathan and

Rahab. He swallows בלע Jer. 51:34, (Ex. 7:12); he is muzzled, šbm, ʿnt III:38; a guard is set over him שים משמר Job 7:12; he is pierced חלל Is. 51:9; will be slain הרג Is. 27:1. Like Rahab he is crushed דכה Ps. 44:20, cf. Ps. 89:10; like Leviathan he has hooks put in his jaws Ez. 29:4, cf. Job 40:25; his heads are broken רצץ || שבר Ps. 74:13-14 and his carcass is given for food Ex. 29:5, cf. Ps. 74:14; he is associated with darkness Ez. 32:7 and Ps. 44:20, cf. Job 3:9. From what we know of them, one would not be surprised to find that Leviathan was muzzled and guarded, or that Rahab or Leviathan was pierced, slain. Therefore my conclusion is that the noun תנין is properly a mythological term (rather than the name of a real animal), referring to the monster who was struck down and/or set under guard by Yahweh when he established his dominion.

Open reference to the myth.-- ʿnt III:34ff.: Anat, angry at the arrival of Mot's messengers, boasts that among her triumphs over Baal's enemies is the "muzzling" of tnn. The devourer (Jer. 51:34) has been incapacitated, so that he is no longer a threat. The implication of Job 7:12, too, is that the monster survives, under guard.[59] In contrast to this is the image in Ps. 74:13 and Is. 51:9 of a violent death which, as Ezekial elaborates upon it, is followed by the scattering of the dismembered corpse. The tannin, like Leviathan, is subject to an ambiguous fate.

Applications.-- The prediction of Is. 27:1 that

Leviathan, the monster in the sea, will be finally overthrown ביום ההוא implies that until that time he (*or what he represents*) remains a threat. The primeval enemy becomes a metaphor for Pharaoh, King of Egypt, as Ezekiel describes Pharaoh's downfall by means of a free rendering of the story of the monster's defeat. He pictures him as a great fish that is drawn out of his element with hooks (like Leviathan, Job 40:25). He and his henchmen (דגת יאוריך) will provide food for the birds and beasts as their carcasses are left to rot, unburied. In Ps. 74:14 it is Leviathan whose carcass is given for food, though it is Rahab who is peculiarly associated with Egypt, the broken reed.[60] This passage supports the impression that distinctions between the three, at least for Ezekial, are weak.

To this picture Ezekiel adds the fouling of the waters,[61] the dragnet,[62] the blood which fills the water courses,[63] and darkness. The handling of this last motif demonstrates Ezekiel's adaptation of the myth. Whereas the rule of the monster is characterized by darkness, which the victor god dispels,[64] here God exercises the powers of darkness of the monster in retaliation against him (as he had plagued Egypt with darkness when Moses led out his people). Awareness of the part this motif plays in the myth is essential if one is to grasp the full significance of Amos 5:20 הלא חשך יום יהוה ולא אור ואפל ולא נגה לו "Is not the day of the Lord darkness and not light and gloom with no brightness in it?" From this important idea the prophetic conception of the Day of Judgment develops.[65] The conditions of the monster's reign will be recreated by God (or, the monster will be let loose) in preparation for a new creation, to follow upon the destruction of the nations. The interchange of attributes and actions between the hero-god and his monster-adversary is a recurring phenomenon to which I have called attention at the end of chapter one.[66]

The primeval monster, having been identified with the Egypt of the Exodus as a way of expressing the significance of Israel's creation, is a natural choice of metaphor for contemporary Egypt, for Ezekial. Jeremiah makes the next leap in developing the symbolic implications of tannin by applying the word to the current oppressor, Babylon. Jer. 51:34-44 is full of allusions to the myth.[67] Babylon, like the tannin (and Mot)[68] is a devourer, who will be devoured, v. 40: אורידם ככרים לטבוח כאלים עם עתודים "I will bring them down like lambs to the slaughter, like rams and he-goats."[69]

The myth obscured.-- In Ps. 44:20 the speakers complain that they are being treated like the monster (cf. Job 7:12, הים אני אם תנין כי תשים עלי משמר), crushed (cf. Ps. 89:11, דכא)[70] and covered with darkness (cf. Ez. 32:7, above). The form תנים clearly does not mean "jackals" in Ez. 29:3, 32:3. The singular verb and adjectives require that it be read as singular, and its habitat (ימים, יארים) makes clear that "tannin" rather than "jackal" is meant.[71] It is not possible to say whether the one responsible for the form in Ps. 44:20 was aware of the mythological connotation; the expression במקום "in the place of" may be understood "as a substitute for," "in stead of."[72] He may very well have made more sense out of "jackals" that are frequently associated with desolation.[73] However, the frequent confusion of the two words begs for further explanation.

The figure who performs an analogous function to the tannin in Egyptian mythology is Seth, "god of confusion."[74] We know that c. 1700 B.C. Seth was associated with three circumpolar constellations, the little bear, the big bear, and the hippopotamus or crocodile.[75] Since these stars never fell below the horizon in Egypt in the third millennium they had a special significance. Lockyer, discussing the astronomical ideas of the Egyptians, explains the difference in the way they regarded those stars which were always visible and those which rose and set:

> The rising stars being regarded as heralds of the sunrise, it seems very probable that the circumpolar stars were quite early regarded as representing the powers of darkness, because they were there, visible in the dark, always disappearing and never appearing at sunrise.[76]

Now the "hippopotamus" was called the wife of Seth, the "big bear" the thigh of Seth[77] and the "little bear" the jackal of Seth. The jackal is elsewhere associated with Anubis, god of the dead[78] who is sometimes a form of Seth.[79] In the representations of the fabulous Seth-animal, the form of the body most nearly resembles that of a dog with long ears.[80] There is no resemblance to תן in the Egyptian word for jackal.[81] Therefore: the fact that the Hebrew word for "jackal" is related in form to the word for "monster" may be taken as evidence of an awareness of the connection between the mythological monster and this animal. Of course this association is not exclusively Egyptian. The opposition of lion and jackal, king and fool, hunter and scavenger, is familiar from folk and fairy tales.[82]

From the six other references we learn nothing further about the character or fate of the tannin. Discussion of them will be directed toward justifying the first part of the assertion that תנין is properly a mythological term, and that passages where the word occurs have direct or indirect reference to the myth.

Exodus 7:12.-- In Ex. 4:3 and 7:15 there is reference to Moses' rod which turns into a נחש when it is cast on the ground. What evidence is there that תנין in v. 12 is not merely a synonym for נחש ? First of all, the action of swallowing (בלע) is ascribed to the tannin also in Jer. 51:34 and is characteristic of the monster.[83] The uses to which the rod is put are more revealing. The fact that it is an instrument of magic (Ex. 4:17, 7:9) does not distinguish תנין from נחש; in fact the widespread association of snakes and magic supports an argument to the other effect.[84] But *this* rod is used to spoil the water of the Nile by turning it to blood (Ex. 7:17),[85] to part the reed sea (Ex. 14:16, which is elsewhere analogous to splitting the monster, Is. 51:9), and to get water from a rock (Ex. 17:5). Now "the rod" is primarily the sign of rule. God established his rule by defeating the monster *and subsuming his powers*.[86] God's power over the monster is manifest in the splitting open of the rock to release water,[87] in the control of the violence of the sea, and finally in his mastery of monstrous techniques: the tannin had fouled the waters; this situation was corrected by cutting him up so that his vital fluid (blood) filled the water courses (Ez. 32:6). Now blood is what fouls the waters of "the monster" (Pharaoh), by God's command. Also, Aaron's tannin is second to none in swallowing power. (The blossoming of Aaron's rod, Nu. 17:8, may signify the fertility which accompanies the monster's cooperation with legitimate rule.)[88]

The mention of התנינם הגדלים in Gen. 1:21 is a deliberate effort to contradict the battle myth. Whereas the other creatures are listed only by general categories, here a particular species is singled out.

> It is as though the Torah said, in effect: Far be it from any one to suppose that the sea monsters were mythological beings opposed to God or in revolt against him; they were as natural as the rest of the creatures, and were formed in their proper time and in their place by the word of the Creator, in order that they might fulfil His will like the other created beings. Similarly it is stated in Psa. cxlviii 7: "praise the Lord from the earth, YOU SEA MONSTERS AND ALL DEEPS." The poet invites all created forms of life to praise the Lord, and among the terrestrial creatures, beneath the heavens, he invites, first and foremost, the sea monsters and the deeps specifically.[89]

(Care is also taken to avoid the intrusion of Yam as a personality by the plural ימים in v. 10.)

In the light of Ps. 58:5 חמת למו כדמות חמת נחש כמו פתן חרש יאטם אזנו: "They have venom like the venom of a serpent, like the deaf adder that stops its ear (so that it cannot be charmed)" and Pr. 23:32 אחריתו כנחש ישך וכצפעני יפרש: "At the last it bites like a serpent, and stings like an adder," where wine is spoken of as biting like a נחש, one would expect Dt. 32:33 to read חמת *נחשים* יינם וראש פתנים אכזר. The use of תנינם here presupposes that the mythological association has been weakened. *Tannin* has become merely a synonym for *nahash* through their mutual association with Leviathan: לויתן *נחש* עקלתון... *התנין* אשר בים (Is. 27:1), and with the rod of Moses and Aaron: וישליכו איש מטהו ויהיו *לתנינם* (Ex. 7:12), המטה אשר נהפך *לנחש*. (v. 15). *Tannin* and *peten* are found parallel once again in Ps. 91:13 which is reminiscent of the myth in its use of the expression דרך על.[90] This phrase connotes dominion which is appropriate to the theme of the psalm as a whole, but in every other case where דרך (Qal) is found in Psalms it refers to bending the bow, which is appropriate to the hunting imagery also found in this psalm (כי הוא יצילך מפח יקוש v.3, "He will deliver you from the snare of the fowler").

Preliminary Summary

Before leaving Rahab, Leviathan and tannin let us make a preliminary summary of our conclusions regarding the question of variants, and the interrelation of names of the monster, raised on page II-1-1. Leviathan and Rahab are, to begin with, different names for the same monster. Both are associated with the sea and are defeated by God when he establishes his sovereignty. Rahab is peculiarly Israelite and has become associated with the Egypt of the Exodus; as such he is to be distinguished from other monsters as being unequivocally killed. Tannin is unlike Rahab and Leviathan in being more properly a generic term for the mythical monster than a personal name.

On the level of vocabulary, some of the specific terms which describe the monster-menace, or the action taken against him by God, recur, or find resonance in the myths selected for comparison, and have therefore merited a special note:

שבת check (n. 5) רהב oppress, tyrannize (n. 26)
דכה crush (n. 6) שבר ראש break heads (n. 30)
חלל pierce (n. 7) ארר enchant (p. II-1-10)

ברח	slippery (n. 10)	šbm	muzzle (n. 57)
מחץ	smite (n. 17, *cf*. n. 58	בלע	swallow (n. 83)

On the conceptual level, several of the ideas familiar from the myths presented in chapter one have emerged from the biblical material:

- -- The monster is split open (Vritra, I-1-8); Tiamat, I-1-22; p. II-1-4).
- -- The battle took place "in the beginning" and was prerequisite to kingship (Indra, I-1-8; Marduk, I-1-22; p. II-1-4 and n. 16).
- -- Unruly waters result from the destruction of the monster (Asag, I-1-7; p. II-1-6).
- -- His carcass provides sustenance (Tiamat, I-1-22f.; p. II-1-9).
- -- The power of the monster can be harnessed (Seth, I-ii-15; p. II-1-11).
- -- There are two ways of incorporating the monster into the created order: as matter, or as energy. These are not exclusive concepts (Tiamat, I-1-26; p. II-1-12).
- -- Darkness accompanies the reign of the monster (Zu, I-1-16; Apophis, I-1-17) and is used as a weapon against him (p. II-1-18).
- -- He swallows (Mot, I-ii-16; p. II-1-21).

In the light of the comparative material the examination of these biblical passages also yields conclusions relevant for biblical studies specifically:

- -- The close association of Rahab with Egypt is explained by the fact that the creation of Israel depended on Egypt's defeat, just as the creation of the cosmos depended on the monster's defeat (p. II-1-4f.). It also accounts for his dictinction as the only one of the monsters discussed whose fate is not ambiguous. He is killed. For once, the historical significance of the monster predominates over the cosmological (p. II-1-6).

-- The cosmic significance of Israel's escape from Egypt is illustrated by the story of Aaron's rod (which turns into a tannin). So far from being overcome by the monster, Yahweh's generals employ him in his own capacity to dirty the Egyptian water, swallow the Egyptian power (מטה), split open rocks[91] (p. II-1-22).

-- The connection between תן "jackal" and תנין "monster" may be more graphic since the jackal is one of the representations of the Egyptian monster; and considering the traditional opposition between lion (as *king* of the beasts) and jackal (p. II-1-21).

-- It is significant that the root חלל is reflected in the window (*ḥln*) which is provided for Baal's palace and in the piercing (חלל) of the monster: It is the same necessity that motivates both actions. Only when "the body" is split open does its potential for good become actual in the order of the cosmos (n. 7).

The synonymity of תנין with נחש and פתן invites investigation of these terms for further reference to the myth, to be subsumed under the general heading of *the* myth obscured. נחש is a generic term for snake. It is a land animal whose most characteristic action is biting (נשך). Unlike the monster-names, it is found in synonymous parallelism with a variety of terms, presumably designating separate species (צפעוני "adder" Jer. 8:17; עקרב "scorpion" Dt. 8:15; שפיפן "horned snake" Gen. 49:17; עכשוב "viper" Ps. 140:4). None of these terms except פתן is found parallel to a monster name.

The snake is a sacred animal in the West Semitic world, as elsewhere. When the special powers of the snake are invoked (the נחש נחשת of Nu. 21), that does not necessarily have to do with the battle with the monster. However, the monster is described as being a snake-like beast (לויתן נחש ברח Is. 27:1; רהב... נחש בריח Job 26:12-13) and it might happen, if someone preferred to avoid the use of the proper name,[92] that he would allude to the beast by his characteristics--wriggly snake, etc.--until it was possible just to call him The Snake, The Worm, The Fish.[93] The more alive the myth, the less would be needed to specify who was meant. However, if the tradition became part of the language but the force of the myth died (or was suppressed), "the snake" would have a natural meaning only and someone using the language would make sense out of it in natural terms, as has been done in Gen. 3:14 where the snake's natural mode of locomotion is explained as the result of a curse. On the other hand: for purposes of literary allusion, once the structure of the myth had disintegrated, language involving mythical and natural beasts would get mixed together. The passages in which this development is most evident are Dt. 32:33 and Ps. 91:13.

Notes to Introduction and Section 1 of Chapter II

1. Translation follows the Revised Standard Version (RSV) except for underlined words, unless otherwise noted.
2. המחצבת: Vulgate and DSS have המוחצת, possibly influenced by Job 26:12 מחץ רהב.
3. On p. 279 of Psalms I ("The Anchor Bible"; Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1966), Mitchell Dahood justifies pointing בְּגַבְּאוֹת הַיָּם (MT בְּגֵאוּת הַיָּם), "the back of the sea," *cf*. Job 9:8 במותי ים. Since the article prevents *yam* from being read as a proper name I see no reason to change the reading of MT.
4. בשוא : MT points בְּשׂוֹא from √נשא but the form is anomalous. Gunkel takes it as Qal inf. from √שאה, which relates it to שאון, the noise of the waters (Jer. 51:55, Ps. 65:8, Is. 17:12f.). However, the reading of MT provides a closer semantic parallel to גאות (*cf*. Ps. 93:1 יהוה מלך גאות לבש and Job 13:11 הלא שאתו תבעת אתכם) meaning majesty, eminence.
5. שבח: This verb is found twice describing God's control of the sea, see also Ps. 65:8 משביח שאון ימים שאון גליהם והמון לאמים "Who stills the roaring of the seas, the roaring of their waves, the tumult of the peoples." Talk about confining the sea is a way of speaking about the captivity of the monster. Dahood argues that UT, ʿAnat III:37 should be read, " l ʾeštbm

tnn esbḥ[n]h," "I muzzled Tannin, I checked him." (*Psalms II*, p. 279)

6. רכא (רכה, Ps. 44:20): Rahab is crushed or pounded, as though with mortar and pestle (*cf*. Nu 11:8 וטחנו ברחים או דכו במדכה ובשלו בפרור ועשו אתו עגות "The people ground manna in mills or beat it in mortars and boiled it in pots and made cakes of it"), just as Mot is ground by Anat, *UT*, 49:ii:30f. Though the verb דכא does not appear in this passage, we know *brḥm* *tṭḥnn* (l. 34) to be a synonymous parallel, from Nu. 11:8. Dahood (to support his reading of Ps. 93:4) cites *UT*, 49:v:1-3, "yiḫd bʿl bn aṯrt rbm ymḫṣ bktp dkym ymḫṣ bṣmd," "Baal seized the sons of Asherah, the Strong One smote with a cudgel, the Pounder smote with a club," parsing *dkym* as plural of majesty, from *dky*, Hebrew דכה "a fitting description of the storm-god whose alternate name *hdd* denotes 'the Crasher.'" (*Psalms II* (1968), p. 341)

7. חלל : The reading "carcass" is insisted upon by Gunkel (p. 30 n. 4, p. 33 n. 3): especially in combination with חרב, חלל is a term for the unburied corpse of the fallen enemy. It always connotes death, and defilement. Two meanings of as it is used in non-mythological contexts are distinguished according to two roots distinguished in Arabic, "pierce, wound" (خلّ ; Pr. 26:10) and

"profane, defile" (حلّ ; Ex. 20:25). Ḥ and ḫ have coalesced in Hebrew, as they tend to do also in Ugaritic: Gordon notes (UT §3:6), "A new mirror text (RŠ 22.05) has enabled Virolleaud to establish that in the mirror version of the ABC, . . . ḫ and ḥ fall together as 𐎈 ." Thus "in RŠ 26:135 where h replaces ḥ . . . ḫln stands for ḥln [window, √ ḥll] (and similarly ltḫ, mlḫt, mptḫ, qmḫ with ḫ for ḥ)." (§ 19:864).

Ordinarily it is dangerous to assume that coalescence in form implies coalescence in meaning. But in this case the two meanings come to focus in the central action of the myth in such a way as to suggest that the distinction that is found in the Arabic roots is secondary, a result of the need to distinguish secular and sacred connotations. That central action is the opening of the monster. To pierce is to open, which is to defile, profane, break the (sacred) power of what was formerly intact. For example: Baal at first refuses to let the architect supply his palace with a window (UT, 51:v:126, ḥln) and he becomes vulnerable when he accepts its necessity (vii:17), cf. Jer. 9:20 עלה מות בחלונינו "Death has come up into our windows." As Fisher says, Baal allows the window because he must send forth his voice (Loren R. Fisher, "Creation at Ugarit and in the Old Testament," VT, XV [1965], p. 318): The palace without windows is monstrous. "The temple [or palace] is symbolic of the ordered cosmos and at the same time makes it possible to maintain order. However, that which makes it possible to maintain order is also that which allows for the possible recurrence of chaos." (p. 320)

8. רגע:

> The verb rgʿ has commonly been taken in the sense of 'disturb, stir up,' but it can also have the opposite sense of 'still' . . . This is the sense required by the proper understanding of the context. . . . There is no warrant for emending rgʿ to gʿr 'rebuke.' . . . Admittedly in Is. 51:15 and Jer. 31:35 the verb rgʿ seems at first glance to have the sense of 'stir up,' but perusal of the context makes it clear that the message of comfort to Israel is drawn from the appeal to Yahweh's creative power and his defeat and control of the boisterous sea. (Marvin H. Pope, Job ["The Anchor Bible," 1965], p. 166.)

9. שפרה: Gunkel (p. 36, n. 3) makes mythological sense out of the LXX translation, "the bars of heaven feared him" (בריחי שמים שערה). Pope, following N. H. Tur-Sinai (The Book of Job [Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher Ltd., 1957], p. 383, justifies reading שם ים שפרה (p. 166), relating שפרה to Akk. sapâru, "net" (cf. also Ps. 56:9, ספרה), and recalling that Marduk used a net to ensnare Tiamet (EE IV:94f.).

10. The expression נחש ברח appears in Is. 27:1 and bṯn brḥ in UT, 67:1:1. Each translator has his own idea of what ברח means. Gunkel likes "coiled"

(p. 36 n. 4) *cf*. Vulgate "tortuosus." Pope, Gaster and RSV agree that the root idea is ברח, "to flee." Tur-Sinai: "straight," Driver: "slippery, writhing," Ginsberg (*ANET*): "slant." Albright (*BASOR*, LXXXIII [Oct. 1941], p. 39 n. 5) argues for "primeval" on the basis of Egyptian cognate *ḏr b3rḥ*. Gordon lists *UT* §17:515 "brḥ II 'evil,' *cf*. Ar. بَرَّح, Heb. בָּרִחַ (Is. 27:1), epithet of Leviathan, 67:1:1, *cf*. *Orientalia*, XXII (1953), p. 243-4." I prefer Driver's "slippery" or "twisted" as best combining the phallic and serpentine characteristic shared with the bolt (בריח) that shoots through. It can as well express the moral evaluation that Gordon feels is important, in the colloquial sense of "a slippery fellow," "a twisted mind." Then read "Yam" as a name parallel to Rahab, to complete the chiastic pairing of name and nick-name: sea-Yam, Rahab-serpent.

11. Translation from Pope, *Job*.

12. Warriors, or heroes, *cf*. Ug. *ǵzr*, "hero"; (not helpers, *cf*. Ug. *ʿdr*, "save."). For this sense of עזר see I Ch. 5:20, 12:1; II Ch. 26:15, Ez. 32:21, Ps. 89:20.

13. *i.e*. Egypt, see Is. 30:7 and discussion, p. II-1-4

14. Greek and Syriac versions and the Targum support the reading of DSS מרהבה from רהב. Orlinsky contends (contrary to *BH*^{3}) that

> in the case of all three ancient primary versions . . . the Jewish translators simply guessed at the meaning of obscure מדהבה in

> the light of the context in general, and of the parallel נגש in particular. This is precisely what all translators have done ever since . . . (Harry M. Orlinsky, "Studies in the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll, IV," JQR, XLIII [1953], p. 335f.)

In his opinion DSS מרהבה is a case of an easier reading having replaced the more difficult. ("Madhebah in Isaiah XIV:4," Vetus Testamentum, VII [1957], p. 203.)

15. Translation suggested by the parallel נגש, see discussion, p. II-1-5, and note 26.

16. Cf. קדם, מקדם, בימי קדם. When it refers to the time of the beginning (Pr. 8:22f., Wisdom was created, the first of God's acts, before the creation of the world) it is usually in connection with the battle. It was בימי קדם that Yahweh performed the great saving deeds which proved his kingship. Evidence to support this reading of Is. 51:9: enthronement Ps. 55:20, Ps. 74:12, Hab. 1:12 "Art thou not from everlasting," Is. 45:21 God's righteousness declared. Mighty deeds Is. 46:10, Ps. 77:6, 12; (78:2 reed sea), 143:5, 44:2 (historicized). Otherwise, the expression can refer to historical time "before the destruction" La. 5:21 etc., or the time of the making of the covenant Ps. 74:2, Mi. 7:20, in both of which cases the connotation of "the time of creation" can still be felt.

17. Mythological association only here, which explains DSS preference for the more familiar מחץ, cf. Job 26:12, UT, 67:1:1.

18. *Cf*. Ez. 28:8b, on Tyre: מתה ממותי חלל בלב ים "You will die the death of the slain in the heart of the seas" *i.e.*, the death of the monster.

19. See below p. II-1-17 on תנין as a generic name.

20. *Cf*. Ez. 30:8 וידעו כי אני יהוה גתתי אש במצרים ונשברו כל עזריה "Then they will know that I am the Lord, when I have set fire to Egypt, and all her helpers are broken."

21. Norman K. Gottwald, *All the Kingdoms of the Earth* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 178f.

22. Cross calls attention to "the secondary mythologizing of historical experiences to point to their cosmic or transcendent meaning." For example, "the overthrow of the Egyptian in the sea is singled out to symbolize Israel's deliverance, Yahweh's victory." (Frank Moore Cross, Jr., "The Divine Warrior in Israel's Early Cult," *Biblical Motifs*, ed. Alexander Altmann [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966], p. 16.)

23. So Ben Yehuda, p. 6459 n. 3.

24. אללים "worthlessness" for אלהים, referring to idols (Lev. 19:4), foreign gods (Ps. 97:7); מֹלֶךְ the name of the god of Moab ("King") pointed with the vowels of בֹשֶׁת "shame" (Lev. 18:21).

25. The prince of the sea is named Rahab according to the Midrash, Nu. XVIII, 22. Ex. XXIV:

> When they were in the red sea . . . the Prince of the Sea was filled with wrath against them and sought to drown them, but God rebuked him and the waters dried up. (Quotations from the *Midrash Rabbah*, trans. under the editorship of

Rabbi Dr. H. Freedman and Maurice Simon. Forward by Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein [10 vols., London: Soncino Press, 1939.])

26. The verb רהב as it is found in Pr. 6:3, Ct. 6:5 and Ps. 138:3 may easily be read "assert power over." Pr. 6:3 "You have come into your neighbor's power: go quickly and assert power over your neighbor." Especially nice is Ct. 6:5 "Turn your eyes away, they make me rahab-inous." All suggestion of opposition to Yahweh has faded in Ps. 138:3 "When I called you answered, you made powerful my strength of heart."

27.
> The Exodus is an event without any reference in principle to any drama of creation . . . It is history, and no longer the drama of creation, that becomes the active center of symbolism.

The consequence of this shift from the drama of creation is that the enemy is no longer primeval chaos in the mythical sense but, rather, "undergoes a sort of reduction to the purely historical." (Ricoeur, Pt. II chap. i., as quoted by Bernard W. Anderson, Creation versus Chaos [New York: Association Press, 1967], p. 105f.)

28. עקלתון: See below, note 33.

29. פרר: to break or violate a covenant Ju. 21:1, a law Nu. 15:31, a promise UT, 128:iii:29. In two other places it means "break" in a more physical sense; Job 16:12 where the verb is parallel to פרץ, פלח, פצץ and its object is Job, and Is. 24:19 where it is parallel to רעע and מוט and refers to the earth (see below, p. II-iv-5).

30. שבר ראש תנינים corresponds to Ugaritic ytbr.ḥrn.rešk UT, 127:55 (Keret to his son Yassib), "May Horon smash your head." For תנינים as singular see below, note 56.

31. Dahood, Psalms II, p. 204 justifies attaching the last word of v. 11 to v. 12 and reading the problematical מלכי (unique use of first person pronoun in this psalm) as construct followed by enclitic mem. The "kings from the East" refers to Moab, Edom, and Ammon (cf. Ez. 25).

> Just as this verb describes the destruction of cosmic foes in mythical contexts, so may God destroy his historical adversaries who have sacked Jerusalem. (Otherwise, translation follows RSV.)

32. ים = יום: Mythological allusion recognized by Gunkel (p. 59), confirmed by the Ugaritic myths. The pun was irresistible (so ערר || ארר). Tur-Sinai notes that the infinitive without ל after an adjective is syntactically without analogy (p. 57), and on the basis of Is. 14:9 שאול... עורר... כל עתודי ארץ takes the אררי יום, "cursers of the day," to be Leviathan's assistants in his battle against the God of light, "the heroes (העתידים) that Leviathan awoke." This interpretation also obviates the necessity to explain why one would choose to rouse Leviathan.

33. *ʿqltn* appears only with *bṯn*, here and ʿnt III:38. In Hebrew we find the expressions יצא משפט מעקל "justice goes forth perverted" (Hab. 1:4); ארחות עקלקלות "roundabout paths" (Ju. 5:6); המטים עקלקלותם "who make crooked their ways" (Ps. 125:5). Perhaps "crooked" or "twisted" (Dahood, *Psalms II*, p. 145) is the best translation, as it can describe either a physical or a moral characteristic, *cf*. Midrash on Ex. 7:9, Ex. R. IX,3 "Why did God compare the kingdom of Egypt to a serpent? Just as a serpent is twisted, so does the kingdom of Egypt pervert her ways."

Velde notes that

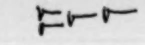
> There is a word *h3bty* which can designate Seth, and which is translated as 'Verbrecher' (*WB* III, 362,6). *H3bt* is given [in the same source] as 'Unrecht, Sünde eigtl. das Krumme,' and *h3b* as 'Krumm sein (von der Nase nach einer Verletzung).' It does not seem entirely unfounded to take the literal and figurative sense together, and to look upon the noticeably curved snout of Seth as an outward sign of his 'crookedness.' (P. 17, note 6)

34. *šlyṭ*

> is clearly a name of the dragon, possibly originating in congeneric assimilation of two words like Heb. *šallîṭ* 'mighty, powerful,' and *šayit* (?), an obscure destructive agency of some kind (Is. 28:15). (Albright, *BASOR*, LXXXIII [1941], p. 40, n. 6.)

35. Ugaritic text and translation unless otherwise noted follow G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956). The numbering is according to Cyrus Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965).

36. F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 531. (BDB)

37. The Ugaritic noun evolved somewhat differently from the same root, the original  having contracted with the "a" vowel to form the dipthong ô (like יום, ע״ן qatl type. UT, §8:22). The identity of the two is confirmed by the parallel passages UT, 67:i:1, Is. 27:1.

38. ʿnt ltn is mentioned in a list of sacrifices UT, 9:17, and ltn is perhaps to be read in a broken text relating how the gods complained to El about molesters: UT, 75:i:7

. .]hrn.km.šḥr	. . . like (heat at) dawn,
. .]ltn.km.qdm	. . . like the east-wind.
[te]bdn.el.abn	[They] destroy us, El our father;

39. Gunkel (p. 47) regards this passage as an apocalyptic allegory in which two synonymous epithets of Leviathan are listed with Tannin to make up three figures representing three world powers. This passage was referred to in the Talmud (B.B. 74a-75a), where male and female Leviathans are distinguished by the two epithets: He will punish נחש ברח in the world to come as he punished נחש עקלתון for he slew the dragon that was in the sea during the first six days of creation.

He put the female in salt for food for the righteous in the world to come. The female rather than the male was killed because it would not be proper for God to sport with a female. (The Babylonian Talmud, trans. and ed. I. Epstein [London: Soncino Press, 1935].) (This in opposition to Enoch 60 where Leviathan is female, Behemoth male. [Targ. Jerus. says Leviathan is male]. Solution: There were two Leviathans and two Behemoths.)

40. EE I:72, Ea takes Mummu by his nose-rope after vanquishing his lord, Apsu.

41. Pope, Job, p. 278.

42. EE II:102f.; UT, 137:24f.

43. EE IV:73f.; UT, 49:vi:14.

44. Pope (Job, p. 283) suggests

> that the troublesome word ḥyn represents an accidental corruption of a name or epithet of the god Koshar who is sometimes called hyn in the Ugaritic myths.

See for the "powerful word" UT, 68:8, Koshar to Baal: "Thou shalt smite thy foes, Baal" etc.

45. EE II:49f.; UT, 137:23.

46. P. 59; Apsu, EE I:61f.

47. Darkness is characteristic of the pre-creation era (Gen. 1:2). The conquest of the monster precedes and is prerequisite to the creation of light (EE V; Ps. 74:13f.).

48. EE II:117; IV:91. Pope (Job, p. 30) says

> In Baal's battle with Prince Sea in the Ugaritic myth, there is no reference to cursing, but the weapons by which Sea had been defeated were rendered effective by incantations tantamount to curses pronounced by the god Koshar who specialized in magic as well as metallurgy.

UT, 68:5 may very well be a curse.

49. אזלית ופגעית בהון בסני בישי ובעילדבבי מרירי אמרת להון דאים מירעם
השיתון ביה באבונא בר גריבתא ובאיבא בר זויתאי אשיפנא לכון באישפא
רימא ואשפא דלויתן תנינא... מחיתנא עליכון שמתא וגזירתא ואחרמתא
דאיתנה על חירמון טורא ועל לויתן תנינא ועל סדום ועל עמורא.

J. A. Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1913), Text 2, as quoted by Gordon, "Leviathan: Symbol of Evil" Biblical Motifs, p. 8.

50. See note 39, above, and the Talmudic account of the way God spends the twelve hours of each day, A.Z. 3b. During the first three he reads the Torah; the second he spends sitting in judgment; the third, feeding the world; and the fourth, sporting with Leviathan.

51. P. 52.

52. The paradoxical fate of the monster is discussed more fully above, in the conclusion to the comparative study of related Near Eastern myths, p. I-iii-9.

53. I En. 60:7; II Bar. 29:4; IV Ezra 6:49, 52; Midrash and Talmud, cf. Louis Ginzberg, The Legends

of the Jews (Phila: Jewish Publication Society, 1912), Vol. V, p. 41-46. It should be noted that for everything that is said about Leviathan in Apocryphal and rabbinical literature, biblical precedent can be found.

54. James B. Pritchard, The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament (Princeton University Press, 1954), #691, 671.

55. Lagarde, Heb. Gram. §205 cited by BDB.

56. Tannin appears in Is. 51:9 quoted on p. II-1- 2, Is. 27:1 and Ps. 74:13 quoted on p. II-1-6f. The appearance of תנינים in the last reference is exceptional. In no other instance is the plural found in a passage which directly evokes the myth. Since the reference to "breaking heads" marks this indisputably as such, the simplest explanation is that enclitic mem has been misread as a plural termination.

57. S. E. Loewenstamm supports the reading "muzzle" (l. 37) in spite of its lack of synonymity with mḫš, kly, on the basis of an Akkadian text Ludlul, tablet IV column 2,

> Marduk beat (mḫš) the hand of my beater, caused his weapon to fall down. Upon the mouth of the lion about to devour me put a muzzle (nap-sa-ma),

where the verb mḫs and psm (=šbm by metathesis) are parallel. ("The Muzzling of the Tannin in Ugaritic Myth," IEJ, IX [1959], p. 260f.

58. *ar[š]*; *mḫš*: Gordon, reading (l. 38) *arṣ mt*, translates "I crushed Môt, the darling of the earth gods yea Môt, the calf of il, . . ., I crushed fire," etc. Driver adopts Gaster's *arš* (Thespis, p. 134, n. 49) suggested by *UT*, 62:50 *bym.arš.wtnn*, where the conjunction suggests that *arš* may be a monster, like *tnn*.

mḫš is distinguished from though similar in meaning to *mḫṣ* which is also found parallel to *kly* in a similar context *UT*, 67:i:1f. Moshe Held ("*mḫṣ/*mḫš* in Ugaritic and other Semitic Languages (A Study in Comparative Lexicography)" *JAOS*, LXXIX [1959], p. 169-176) notes (with Albright and Ginsberg) that "*māḫaš* has exactly the same meaning as *mḫṣ*. This is evident from context, parallelism and comparison [of passages]."

If a case can be made for regarding *mḫš* as an alternate form of *mḫṣ* (Hebrew מחץ), then perhaps a case could be made for relating *arš* "monster" to *arṣ* (ארץ) "earth." Though I would agree with Gaster and Driver against Virolleaud's restoration, *ar[ṣ]*, the association is significant. The word which came to mean simply "earth" may very well once have meant "monster," considering the prevalence of the mythic notion of the primeval earth-mound that had to be split open to release life. (See chapter one, and discussion below, section iii.)

Pope, in an attempt to illuminate El's title "*qn arṣ*" runs into a similar puzzle. In Gen. 14:19 Melchizedek blesses Abraham: ברוך אברם לאל עליון קנה שמים וארץ "Blessed be Abram by God Most High, maker of heaven and earth." Pope agrees with Della Vida's argument (*JBL*, LXIII [1944], p. 1, n. 1, as quoted by Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* [Suppl. to *Vetus Testamentum*, Vol. II, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955], p. 52f.), that the original form of the title was simply אל קנה הארץ, as distinguished from עליון, a celestial deity.

> There is nothing in the Ugaritic texts to indicate that El was a celestial deity. All the evidence tends to connect El with the earth. (Pope, *ibid.*)

The title *qn arṣ*, although not found in Ugaritic, is attested at Karatepe, Leptis Magna and Palmyra, and now there are Hittite fragments of originally West Semitic myths which mention a god, El Kunirša, whose consort is Ashertu. But

> a number of phonological difficulties stand in the way of the derivation of Kunirša from *qn arṣ*. The most formidable problem is the corruption of ṣ to š in the word *arṣ*. (*Ibid.*, p. 53)

Pope notes the similarity between *kunirša* and Kinyras, the legendary king of Byblos and Phaphos in Cyprus and the father of Adonis. Held's conclusion about *mḫš* is that

> The known occurrences of this stem fit the semantic range of *mḫṣ* so well as to raise the question whether [*mḫš*] is not really a secondary phonetic modification of [*mḫṣ*]. (p. 173)

But his explanation, "The emphatic ṣ becomes š through partial assimilation to the following t" does not account for *arš wtnn*. Pope admits that "There are many links to be supplied before it can be demonstrated that *qn arṣ* = Kunirša = Kinyras."

Gesenius notes,

> In the process of time, and partly under the influence of Aramaic, the harder and rougher sounds especially were changed into the softer, *e.g.* צחק into שׂחק *to laugh*.

The confluence of š and s is evidenced by the letter ש. So the possibility that the same word might at different times have been spelled with a ṣ or a š is not out of the question. (*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, ed. E. Kautzsch [2n ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910], p. 68.)

59. *Cf*. *EE* IV:139.

60. *Cf*. Ez. 29:6, Is. 30:7, 36:6.

61. See Kaliya, above, p. I-i-14.

62. *EE* IV:95.

63. *EE* IV:131-2; see Labbu, above p. I-i-15.

64. See *note* 47.

65. Am. 8:9, Zeph. 1:15, Joel 3:4, Ez. 30:3.

66. P. I-iii-10. Fontenrose calls it "symmetrical transformation."

67. V. 36b והחרבתי את ימה והבשתי את מקורה;
"I will dry up her sea and make her fountain dry," *cf*. Is. 51:9, Ps. 74:15. V.37: Babylon shall

become מעון תנים, "a haunt of jackals." Though this is typical language for the oracles against the nations (see note 73, below), the reference to jackals may have reminded the poet of the tannin for v. 34 (see below, p. II-i-19f.). V. 39

בחמם אשית את משתיהם והשכרתים למען יעלזו וישנו
שנת עולם ולא יקיצו נאם יהוה:

> While they are inflamed I will prepare them a feast and make them drunk, till they swoon away and sleep a perpetual sleep and not wake, says the Lord.

The motif of the feast appeared in the myth of Illuyankas (p. I-iii-4); Apsu was charmed to sleep (p. I-i-21). V. 42 עלה על בבל הים בהמון גליו נכסתה: "The sea has come up on Babylon; she is covered with its tumultuous waves." The sea performs its monstrous role of swallowing, in the service of God's order; see discussion of כסה, below p. II-iv-11.

68. UT, 67:i:7; ii:2-4.

69. UT, 51:viii:16f., Baal advises his messengers:

al	Come you not
tqrb.lbn.elm	near to Mot son of El
mt.al.yʿdbkm	lest he make you
kemr.bph	like a sheep in his mouth
klle.bŧbrn	(or) you both be carried away like a kid
qnh	in his jaws.

70. See note 6.

71. The substitution of ם for ן may reflect an attempt

to Hebraicize an Aramaic word. (Gesenius, 87e, plural termination ין. as in Aramaic.)

72. Hos. 21:1, Is. 33:21; BDB p. 880, 7b.

73. Mal. 1:3; Is. 13:22, 34:13; Jer. 9:10, 49:33, 51:37, etc.

74. See _note_ I-ii-35.

75. Part of what was the crocodile is included in our Draco. The stars which remain above the horizon to form the circumpolar constellations vary with time and lattitude.

76. J. Norman Lockyer, _The Dawn of Astronomy: A Study of the Temple Worship and Mythology of the Ancient Egyptians_ (Published by Cassell & Co., 1894; reissued in Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1964), p. 145.

77. _Book of the Dead_, Ch. 17; _cf_. Velde, p. 86-88.

78. Lockyer, p. 361.

79. Velde, p. 41; Clark, p. 131.

80. Velde, p. 13-26. "Seth animals do appear, like jackals, drawing the solar barque." (_Ibid_., p. 20)

81. _s3b_, var. _z3b_; Sir Alan Gardiner, _Egyptian Grammar_ (Oxford, 1957), p. 460.

82. On p. 583 of _The Sot Weed Factor_ (a novel by John Barth; Grosset and Dunlap edition, 1966) an Irishman tries in vain to persuade an African king to save his life by accepting temporary servitude:

> If I declared no dead king ever won a battle, he'd reply it was not in the lion to play the jackal's part and a dead king could still be a living example to his subjects.

And see Ez. 32:2 (p. II-1-13): Pharaoh thinks he is a lion, but he is a תנים i.e. a master jackal!

Pope justifies reading שחל, "serpent" rather than "lion" in Job 28:8 לא הדריכהו בני שחץ לא עדה עליו שחל: "The proud beasts have not trodden it, no serpent passed over it." Says Pope,

> There are apparent cognates in Semitic which mean 'lion' in one dialect and 'serpent' in another, such as Heb. nāḥāš, 'serpent,' which may . . . be cognate with Akk. nêšu which means 'lion.' The word nêšu, however, is applied to the serpent in the term nêš qaqqari, 'lion of the earth,' used of the serpent that stole the plant of life in the Gilgamesh Epic. Although this is obviously a metaphorical expression, it suggests some sort of connection between the lion and the serpent. There is also Ethiopic ʾarwē, 'serpent,' which may be cognate with Heb. ʾaryeh, ʾărî, 'lion.' The place where lion and serpent meet and mingle is, of course, in mythopoetic fancy. (He refers to various sculptural representations; Job, p. 108.)

Heidel says of the Labbu,

> This word means 'lion.' However, in the course of the story the same creature is also called a serpent. We may therefore conclude that it was a composite monster or dragon with leonine and serpentine attributes. (p. 141)

Pope continues,

> [Mowinkle] suggests that originally šaḥal may have designated the serpent dragon, the mythical Lindwurm, and that in Job 28:8 the poet was aware of this.

If the signification of lion and serpent suggested in the first part of this note is correct, then this confusion of lion and serpent is another indication of the awareness of, and need to express, that good and evil are but two sides of the same coin.

83. EE IV:97; UT, 67:i:7.

84. The invocation of תנין for magical purposes is suggested by the broken text Krt 126:v:31, 32 relating how Lutpan magically exorcised Keret's illness. (C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1949], p. 49, n. 1.) That the spirit of the mythical monster could be effectively invoked is also attested to by the personal name bn tnn (UT, 80:i:13; 300:rev. 10) which Gordon says may indicate that tnn as an evil spirit was worshipped or propitiated (like Irra, and Seth; see above p. I-iii-7 , note I-iii-25).

> The fact that people bore the names of evil spirits such as tnn and mt (note עזמות) indicates that the latter were worshipped or at least propitiated. Outright cultic worship is indicated by the sacrifice allocated to ʿnt-ltn in 9:17. (UT, § 19 #2575)

85. Aaron's rod is used to turn the waters to blood (Ex. 7:19), to cause frogs (amphibious beings, like the snake) to cover (כסה) the land, and to strike the dust of the earth, to produce gnats (8:13).

The plague on cattle is brought about by the hand of the Lord (9:3, 6); Moses' rod brings on hail (9:23) and locusts (10:13), though he is commanded to stretch forth his hand for hail (9:22) and locusts (10:12), and does so for darkness (10:22). The hand may have been specified in an attempt to avoid mention of the rod because of its association with the monster (and particularly with regard to darkness).

86. God subsumes the powers of the monster as
Creator of darkness, Ez. 32:7
Swallower, Is. 25:8 (see below p. II-iii-3)
Earth-shaker, Ps. 18:8 (see below p. II-iii-5)
Fire-breather, Ps. 18:9
See discussion below p. II-iv-23

87. See above, p. I-i-12 and discussion below, p. II-iv-6.

88. See note I-iii-25.

89. Cassuto, Genesis, p. 50f.

90. See discussion below, p. II-iv-1.

91. Like the Shamir, the "worm who cuts stone"! (Talmud, Git. 68a).

92. The nature of words designating evil tends to place a taboo on them so they are replaced. Hence the multiplicity of words for evil vs. ṭāb in all Semitic languages. (C. H. Gordon, "Near Eastern Seals in Princeton and Philadelphia," Orientalia, XXII (1953), p. 244.

93. Fish is listed last in the series beast, bird, creeping thing in Gen. 9:2 חית הארץ, עוף השמים, כל אשר תרמש האדמה כל דגי הים. This order is preserved, among other places, in Dt. 4:18 where the last phrase is expanded: דגה אשר במים מתחת לארץ.

The cosmological reference is unique. In Ps. 8:9 the phrase is also expanded: דגי הים עבר ארחות ימים perhaps preserving a memory that special importance was once attached to the sea creature. This impression is strengthened by the appearance in V. 7 of the expression כל שתה תחת רגליו which is related to the expression דרך על, discussed on p. II-iv-1f.

The list in Gen. 1:26, 28 is in reverse order: fish, bird, beast; "creeping things" fitting in at the end in various ways. "When inversion of traditional sequences occur, it becomes necessary to inquire concerning the significance of the alterations." (S. Gevirtz, Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel [Chicago, 1963], p. 36.) Only Ezekiel (38:20) among the prophets agrees with the order of Gen. 1. It is possible that דג has been placed first in the list of animals over which man has dominion to emphasize the impotence of "The Fish."

Jon. 2:1 וימן יהוה דג גדול לבלע את יונה ויהי יונה במעי
הדג שלשה ימים ושלשה לילה:

> And the Lord appointed a great fish to swallow up Jonah; and Jonah was in the belly of the fish [which turns out to be בטן שאול, the belly of sheol, v. 3; which is identical with מצולה, לבב ימים, the heart of the seas, v. 4] three days and three nights.

On the identity of the sea, the netherworld and the monster, see below, p. II-iv-22f.

Section ii: Transitional Terms

Peten

פתן is found only in poetry and is the Hebrew cognate of Ugaritic bŧn.[1] Bŧn appears to be a generic term for snake, like נחש.[2] In the Ugaritic corpus, Pughat's excitement when she prepares to avenge Aqhat's slaying is described:

1 Aqht 223	k[bdh]km	Her liver like a young lion's,
	[s]bl lbh.km.bŧn.y[šḫl]ṣah	her heart like a serpent's convulsed her.

She experiences the emotion of an animal about to seize its prey. In another passage, the horns of Aqhat's bow are said to be twisted like a serpent, "qr]nh.km.bŧn.ygr" (II Aqht vi:14). Finally, when Mot and Baal fight, they bite like serpents, "mt.ʿz.bʿl ʿz.ynŧkn.kbŧnm" (UT, 49:vi:21). In none of these cases is it necessary to assume that bŧn refers specifically to the monster, rather than to the snake as it exists in nature.

In one biblical passage it is possible to find buried bŧn = בשן as a metonym for Leviathan on the strength of the parallel with Yam, (cf. Job 3:8). For

Ps. 68:23 MT אמר אדני מבשן אשיב אשיב ממצלות ים:

Dahood reads אמר אדנים בשן אשיב אשבם מצלות ים:

(finding twice enclitic mem, and parsing אשב as Hiph'il imperfect of נשב "to breathe," with privative force):

The Lord said: "I stifled the serpent, muzzled (שבם - Ug. šbm) the deep sea."[3] Albright justifies emending to אמר יהו מִ<מְחֹץ> בשן אָשִׁב אָשִׁבֵם מצמתות ים: "From smiting the serpent I return, I return from destroying the sea."[4] Fensham takes Bashan and Yam as names, in synonymous parallelism, אמר אדני מחר בשן אשיב אשיב ממצלות ים "The Lord said: From the hole of The Snake I will bring back, I will bring back from the depths of The Sea" and notes the chiastic coupling of the verb אשיב and the dwelling place of the monster.[5]

Nahash

The characterization of the contexts in which נחש appears must depend upon whether other myth terms appear in them. In fact, from examination of references to נחש we learn nothing further about the monster, but several passages may be added to our list as having reference to the myth.

The eschatological vision related in Is. 65:25

> זאב וטלה ירעו כאחד ואריה כבקר יאכל תבן ונחש עפר לחמו
> The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, the lion shall eat straw like the ox; and dust shall be the serpent's food

appears to depend upon the story of the serpent in the garden of Eden. In Gen. 3:14 the serpent is cursed to go on its belly and eat dust: ארור אתה... על גחנך תלך ועפר תאכל This is part of an etiological explanation of the behavior of the snake in nature, but the choice of

נחש to tempt Eve depends on the myth of the enmity between the mythical serpent and God.[6] In the midst of a passage describing the days of prosperity which are to come, the last phrase of Is. 65:25 does not fit. The idyllic state of the animal world is marred by the cursed state of the snake. In the light of the similar passage,

ופרה ודב תרעינה יחדו ירבצו ילדיהן ואריה כבקר יאכל תבן: 8) ושעשע
יונק על חר פתן ועל מאורת צפעוני גמול ידו הדה:

> The cow and the bear shall feed; their young shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. 8) The sucking child shall play over the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the adder's den. (Is. 11:7f.)

it appears that substitution of נחש for the synonyms פתן and צפעוני brought with it the cliché found in Gen. 3, though it is not appropriate in this context.[7]

The appearance of שרף in Is. 14:29

אל תשמחי פלשת כלך כי נשבר שבט מכך כי משרש
נחש יצא צפע ופריו שרף מעופף:

> Rejoice not, Philistia, all of you, that the rod that smote you is broken, for from the serpent's root will come forth an adder, and its fruit will be a flying serpent.

suggests a connection between Aaron's miraculous rod and the fiery serpents of the negev.[8] The rod which connotes rule is the nahash-tannin whose self-renewing powers are ultimately in God's control. The plague of fiery serpents of Nu. 21:6 may be another way of telling about Aaron's contest with the Egyptian תנינים :

וישלח יהוה בעם את הנחשים השרפים וינשכו את העם
וימת עם רב מישראל...: 8) ויאמר יהוה אל משה עשה לך
שרף ושים אתו על נס והיה כל הנשוך וראה אתו וחי:
9) ויעש משה נחש נחשת וישימהו על הנס...

> Then the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people, so that many people of Israel died. . . . 8) And the Lord said to Moses, "make a fiery serpent, and set it on a pole; and every one who is bitten, when he sees it, shall live." 9) So Moses made a bronze serpent, and set it on a pole;

Israel (Yahweh) overcame the Egyptian rods (powers) by means of the rod נחש = תנין = שבט/מטה.[9] So Moses' נחש נחשת (=שרף) defends Israel against the plague of הנחשים השרפים. The winged seraphim of Isaiah's inaugural vision (6:2) are representatives of Yahweh's holy power. Karen Joines compares them to the Egyptian uraeus which, as the rearing cobra that encircles the king's crown, symbolizes his protective power, but which apart from the king, is destructive.

> The Egyptians used the crawling serpent as an emblem of chaos and evil, but the uraeus is always standing. The seraphim of Isaiah 6 are standing.[10]

Moses' bronze serpent is an analogue of Aaron's rod since both of them provide a homeopathic cure to the evils of servitude.

Nahash as a term for the sea monster

The natural habitat of נחש is מדבר (Dt. 8:15 מדבר הגדל הנורא נחש שרף ועקרב "the great and terrible wilderness with its fiery serpents and scorpions") or at least עפר; it is one of the זחלי ארץ (Mi. 7:17

[הגוים] ילחכו עפר כנחש כזחלי ארץ "The nations shall lick the dust like a serpent, like the crawling things of the earth";). In Am. 9:3

ואם יסתרו מנגד עיני בקרקע הים משם אצוה את הנחש ונשכם

> Though they hide from my sight at the bottom of the sea, there I will command the serpent and it shall bite them

God threatens to send the nahash to bite Israel as he had done before (Nu. 21); but what is he doing at the bottom of the sea? In Job 26:13 נחש בריח is parallel to רהב and in Is. 27:1 לויתן is called a נחש ברח. Clearly the usage in Amos 9:3 depends on the association of נחש with the mythical sea-monster Rahab or Leviathan, at the point where he is God's servant in punishing the unrighteous Israel.[11] The two streams of tradition: the Near Eastern myth of the primeval battle, and Israel's plague of serpents in the wilderness wandering, have come together in Amos; the evidence being that monsters are not generally said to bite, whereas snakes are, and that the nahash is never otherwise found in water.

Tehom

As with _nahash_, the references to _tehom_ must also be subsumed under the heading, _The Myth Obscured_. _Tehom_ is not a monster, but a poetic term for a large body of water. However, in view of the accepted etymological relation of the word to Tiamat, the name of the mythical monster in Enuma Elish,[12] and given the conservative nature of poetry, we might expect to find echoes of the myth in the poetic clichés or formulas associated with tehom.[13]

The passages in which tehom appears have been analyzed to determine whether there appear in them any indications that tehom was once considered to be a person. First of all, the inconsistency in gender reflected both in the form of the word and in its agreement with verbs and adjectives[14] would seem to indicate that the word is in the process of being depersonalized.[15] If tehom were the proper name of an animate being, one would expect to find it singular, without the article, and preferably feminine (like Tiamat). In this category fall all cases of תהום רבה: Gen. 7:11, Am. 7:4, Is. 51:10, Ps. 36:7, and Ps. 78:15 תהמות רבה.[16] The sense of רב in the Bible is usually numerical: עם רב (Jos. 11:4) means lots of people. In the earliest poems it is qualitative, as in the expression מלך רב (referring to God, Ps. 48:3) which is more familiar from Akkadian and Ugaritic letters addressed to the "mighty king."[17] The phrase מים רבים, as May has shown,[18] reflects the heritage in which "the waters" were assumed to have independent vitality. So the expression תהום רבה "mighty Tehom" always carries with it the possibility of personality, the memory that "she" was once addressed as a monarch is addressed.

In a more evocative way, the expression, תהום רבצת תחת "Tehom that couches below," that appears as a poetic cliché in Gen. 49:25 and Dt. 33:13, retains the flavor of myth. The verb רבץ is always used of animals[19] and it is explicitly said that the tannin is a "coucher,"

> התנים הגדול הרבץ בתוך יאריו
>
> the great dragon that lies in the midst of his streams. (Ez. 29:3)

If Speiser's analysis of Gen. 4:7b is correct,

> לפתח חטאת רבץ ואליך תשוקתו ואתה תמשל בו:
>
> Sin is a demon at the door, whose urge is toward you; yet you can be his master,[20]

then the epithet has been substituted for the name, and the monster has been allegorized as "sin." The other unusual use of this verb,

> ורבצה בו כל האלה הכתובה בספר הזה:
>
> All [the curses] written in this book will settle upon [the man who says in his heart, I will be safe, though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart,] (Dt. 29:19)

may be explained thus: As the monster who couches in self-reliant safety is cursed,[21] so will curses "couch" with the self-reliant man. The play on words depends on the likeness of the sinner to the monster, and the device of "symmetrical transformation."[22]

Tehom is never found with the article. Though this does not of itself indicate that it was felt as a proper name (it is most frequently found in poetry where one would not necessarily expect the article), since התנין and הים do appear in poetry, the possibility that tehom is a name must be considered for every case of the singular. Twice the definite accusative particle את before תהום without the article gives positive indication that it is a name: Ez. 26:19b, an oracle on Tyre, בהעלת עליך את תהום וכסוך המים הרבים: (כ) והורדתיך את יורדי בור אל עם עולם והושבתיך בארץ תחתיות...

> When I bring up Tehom over you, and the great waters cover you, 20) then I will thrust you down with those who descend into the pit, to the people of old, and I will make you to dwell in the nether world . . . ;

and Ez. 31:15, against Pharoah, "the cedar of Lebanon,"

ביום רדתו שאולה האבלתי כסיתי עליו את תהום
ואמנע נהרותיה ויכלאו מים רבים:

> When it goes down to Sheol I will make Tehom mourn for it, and restrain her rivers, and many waters shall be stopped.

Tehom, the queen of the netherworld,[23] "רבצת תחת," is authorized by God to swallow his enemies.[24]

Another echo of the myth may be found in the expression,

קפאו תהמת בלב ים

> the deeps congealed in the heart of the sea. (Ex. 15:8)[25]

When this passage is compared with UT, 62:50 "bym.arš. wtnn"; Is. 27:1 התנין אשר בים and Ez. 32:2 אתה כתנים בימים, the tehom appears to be distinct from the sea, like the tannin, having its home in the sea. From Ez. 28:2 we know that he who sits in the "heart of the sea" is a god. The prince of Tyre says,

> אל אני מושב אלהים ישבתי בלב ימים :
>
> I am a god, I sit in the seat of the gods, in the heart of the seas.

This image is confirmed by Ps. 46:3,

> על כן לא נירא בהמיר ארץ ובמוט הרים בלב ים
>
> Therefore we will not fear though the earth should change, though the mountains shake in the heart of the sea.

As we have seen in chapter one, these mountains in the heart of the sea are Tiamat's legs, which shake as she confronts Marduk.[26] In this connection, Pope's remarks about the nature of El's abode are enlightening. It is usually described as "mbk.nhrm.qrb.apq.thmtm" (UT, 51:iv:20) "At the source of the rivers, amid the channels of the deep." However, in ʿnt, pl. ix:II:23 and III:22, he lives at ḫršn, Akkadian ḫuršan, "der Weltberg."[27] Pope credits H. Zimmern with showing

> that in Mesopotamian mythology huršan originally designated the cosmic mountain of the netherworld. From the connection of the cosmic mountain and the world encircling river where the dead were judged, ḫuršan in Akkadian came to denote the place of the river ordeal. . . . The virtual identity of huršan with the infernal river is thus well established. That huršan also refers to a mountain cannot be doubted. . . . There is only one word huršan which includes both mountain and river. The word comes from Sumerian HUR-SAG.[28] The term hršn thus included both the mountainous and aqueous features of El's abode and makes it unnecessary to use the words nhr and thm as elsewhere in the usual formula . . . . The reference in each case is to one and the same place.[29]

In the same way there should be no difficulty in accepting the substitution of הרים for תהמות in Ps. 46:3 though the tehom is usually thought of as watery. The existence of a word which can cover what for us are such disparate concepts calls for definition in more adequate terms than "the primeval waters."[30]

The actions ascribed to tehom in Hab. 3:10 appear to be the result of poetic hypostatization rather than to reflect the myth directly.

> ראוך יחילו הרים זרם מים עבר נתן תהום קולו רום ידיהו נשא
>
> The mountains saw thee, and writhed; the raging
> waters swept on; the deep gave forth its voice,
> it lifted its hands on high.

The expression נתן קול is used when Baal thunders in victory, "qlh.qdš [.] b[ʿl.y]tn" (UT, 51:vii:29) so that the earth quakes, "[t]r.arṣ" (l. 31), and when Yahweh sentences the nations, like a lion who has cornered his prey, יהוה מציון ישאג מירושלם יתן קולו "The Lord roars from Zion, and utters his voice from Jerusalem" (Am. 1:2). On the other hand Tiamat "set up a roar" when she encountered Marduk (EE IV:71), "cried out loud and furiously" (l. 89); and Babylon's waves roar when she is laid waste,

> כי שדד יהוה את בבל ואבד ממנה קול גדול
> והמו גליהם כמים רבים נתן שאון קולם
>
> For the Lord is laying Babylon waste, and stilling
> her mighty voice, their waves roar like many
> waters, the noise of their voice is raised.[31]
> (Jer. 51:55)

The lifting of hands is primarily expressive of power as in Ps. 10:12 קומה יהוה אל נשא ידך "Arise, O Lord, O God, lift up thy hand"; Ex. 17:11 כאשר ירים משה ידו וגבר ישראל "Whenever Moses held up his hand, Israel prevailed" against the Amalekites; and Ps. 93:3 ישאו נהרות דכים "The floods lift up their crushing (waves)." It can be supplicative, as when Keret lifts his hands to heaven in sacrifice to the gods, "nša.ydh.šmmh.dbḥ.ltr.abh.el" (Krt 168), or when men raise their hands in prayer, שמע קול תחנוני בשועי אליך בנשאי ידי אל דביר קדשך: "Hear the voice of my supplication, as I cry to you for help, as I lift up my hands toward your most holy sanctuary," (Ps. 28:2) but the gesture was probably originally imitative, to encourage the god to act in power. So: Both expressions may be appropriate to either the god or the monster, but to neither in defeat. As Ps. 93:3-4 expresses it,

> נשאו נהרות קולם ישאו נהרות דכים: (4) מקלות מים
> רבים אדירים משברי ים אדיר במרום יהוה
>
> The floods have lifted up their voice, the floods lift up their crushing (waves). 4) Stronger than the thunder of waters, mightier than the breakers of the sea, the Lord on high is mighty.[32]

The language appears to have been misused in v. 10 of Habakkuk 3, a celebration of Yahweh's victories in which all his enemies are pictured prostrate.

Yam

The appearance of ltn and tnn in the Ugaritic texts alerts us to the possibility that in some biblical passages, ים should be read "Yam," that is, as a name, rather than "sea." There are a great many passages in which we may question whether or not the word is used as a name. The object here is to select those passages which our previous study has given us reason to believe will use the proper noun if it is to be found in the Bible, and to examine them for clues to Israel's knowledge of the Yam myth. The procedure will be to examine for evidence of independent animate nature the passages in which ים appears parallel to נהר, as in the Ugaritic myth, and the passages in which ים appears parallel to the monster names previously analyzed. Then the relation of *yam* and *tehom* in Ugaritic and biblical references will be discussed, and general conclusions drawn about the relation of the names associated with the watery element.

Yam parallel to nahar

In Ugaritic, *nhr* appears always in parallelism with *ym*, except in the description of El's dwelling, *UT*, 51:iv:20, where *nhrm* is parallel to *thmtm*: "mbk.nhrm. qrb.apq.thmtm," "at the source of the rivers, amid the channels of the deep." Yam appears with or without the title "zbl" (perhaps according to the requirements of the rhythm); Nahar is always "ṯpṭ nhr" except in the curse pronounced on the weapons by Kathir which omits both titles, "grš ym lkseh nhr lkḥṯ drkth," "Chase Yam from his throne, Nahar from the seat of his dominion." (*UT*, 68:13) Yam appears as part of a proper name "Aṯrt ym" (*UT*, 49:i:17), Nahar never. These facts suggest that Nahar is not an independent being, but an alternative appellation of Yam, which together with Yam forms a hendiadys and apart from it, a poetic parallel.[33]

"Zbl ṯpṭ," though it never appears in this form, may be compared to the compound expression שר־שופט which in Ex. 2:14 expresses a single conception: מי שמך לאיש שר ושופט עלינו "Who made you prince and judge over us?" The pair is broken for the purpose of poetic parallelism,[34]

שריה בקרבה אריות שאגים שפטיה זאבי ערב לא גרמו לבקר:

"Her officials within her are roaring lions; her judges are evening wolves that leave nothing till the morning." (Zp. 3:3) Driver translates the obscure passage UT, 129:22: "yŧir.ŧr.el abh ŧpṭ.[zb]l.y[m ŧp]ṯ nhr mlkt," "The bull El his father confirmed (?) the judgeship of Prince Yam, the kingship of Judge Nahar." That ym and nhr are the same is clear, finally, from the numerous synonymous parallels.[35]

Having reached this conclusion, one would expect that the appearance of this hendiadys in the Bible would carry with it some of its ancient mythological trappings. In fact, the pair appears as a poetic cliché not infrequently. Of the instances in which the pair is found singular without the article (as in Ugaritic) only Hab. 3:8 reflects the myth directly, mentioning the wrath of God and his preparations for battle, and here the pair is broken and inverted:

הבנהרים חרה יהוה אם בנהרים אפך אף בים עברתך כי
תרכב על סוסיך מרכבתיך ישועה:

> Was your wrath against Nahar,[36] Lord? Was your anger against Nahar, or your indignation against Yam, when you rode upon your horses, upon your chariot of victory?

In others, the cliché may be relevant to the passages in which it is found as an expression of dominion, but it is not necessary to refer to Baal's conflict with Yam-Nahar to explain this connotation. What reaches to the cosmic oceans is by implication world-wide.

> יום הוא ועדיך יבוא למני אשור וערי מצור ולמני מצור
> ועד נהר וים מים והר ההר
>
> In that day they will come to you, from Assyria to Egypt, and from Egypt to the River, from sea to sea and from mountain to mountain. (Mi. 7:12)

This may show a tendency to "secularize" the expression into a geographical reference.

> תשלח קצירה עד ים ואל נהר יונקותיה:
>
> [Israel] sent out its branches to the sea, and its shoots to the River. (Ps. 80:12)
>
> משלו מים עד ים ומנהר עד אפסי ארץ:
>
> The dominion [of Jerusalem's king] shall be from sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth. (Za. 9:10; Ps. 72:8, (וירד
>
> ושמתי בים ידו ובנהרות ימינו
>
> I will set [David's] hand on the sea and his right hand on the rivers. (Ps. 89:26)

Alteration of the pair to נהרות-ים in the last reference reveals the weakness of its association with the Canaanite myth. The form נהרות, whether it is singular or plural[37] is feminine, and therefore cannot refer to the same "person" as ים.

What נהרות can mean apart from ים is illustrated by Ez. 31:4,

> מים גדלוהו תהום רממתהו את נהרתיה הלך סביבות מטעה
>
> The waters nourished it, tehom made it grow tall, making her rivers flow round the place of its planting

and v. 15,

ביום רדתו שאולה האבלתי כסתי עליו את תהום ואמנע נהרותיה
When it goes down to Sheol I will make *tehom*
mourn for it, and restrain her rivers.

They are the rivers of Tehom which nourish and then drown Pharaoh (the cedar of Lebanon). These underlie the earth,[38] and are the waters of death spoken of by Isaiah.[39] One might distinguish, then, between the cosmological notion of the waters that surround the world, forming a boundary between life and death, and the monster who engages in battle (though of course the two are related).

In Ps. 66:6 once again we have ים and נהר and must consider the possibility of personality:

הפך ים ליבשה בנהר יעברו ברגל
He turned the sea into dry land; men passed
through the river on foot.

Here, referring to the deliverance of Israel at the Reed Sea, the punishment of the monster has been translated into terms appropriate to a body of water.[40] In Ps. 74:15b

אתה הובשת נהרות איתן
You dried up ever-flowing streams[41]

reference to the cosmological feature is combined with this faint echo of the battle myth. The pair as a cliché retains enough of its mythic connotation to be expressive in proof of God's strength,

הן בגערתי אחריב ים אשים נהרות מדבר
Behold, by my rebuke, I dry up the sea, I make
the rivers a desert (Is. 50:2b)

> גוער בים ויבשהו וכל הנהרות החריב
>
> He rebukes the sea and makes it dry, he dries up all the rivers; (Na. 1:4)

but the definite article and the distinction in gender deprive it of its force as a name.

Two passages which appear to speak of the waters as a person, in the light of this consideration become merely poetic hypostatization:

> נשאו נהרות יהוה נשאו נהרות קולם ישאו נהרות דכים ;
> 4) מקלות מים רבים אדירים משברי ים אדיר במרום יהוה
>
> The floods have lifted up, O Lord, the floods have lifted up their voice, the floods lift up their crushing (waves).42 4) Stronger than the thunder of waters, mightier than the breakers of the sea, the Lord on high is mighty.43 (Ps. 93:3-4)

Thundering and pounding are the activities of the god in the myth (UT, 51:vii:29; 49:v:3). Now נהרות and משברי ים (as distinguished from ים-נהר), in performing these activities as a part of the cosmos, are subordinate in power to Yahweh. Consider also Ps. 98:7-8

> ירעם הים ומלאו תבל וישבי בה: ⑧ נהרות ימחאו כף יחד הרים ירננו:
>
> Let the sea roar, and all that fills it; the world and those who dwell in it! Let the floods clap their hands; let the hills sing for joy together.

My conclusion is that in the Bible, when ים appears with נהר or נהרות, it is a part of the cosmos. Since yam unlike nahar appears in parallelism with other monster names (the passages are quoted in section one), and by itself as a force which must be restrained (examples are given in section four), it is distinguishable from *nahar* and from the natural "sea" as a monstrous personality.

Yam parallel to Rahab, Leviathan, tannin

When *yam* is found parallel to one of the monster names, it may be another monster name, familiar from Ugaritic, or it may be distinguished from the monster, appearing in a naturalistic reinterpretation of the mythological reference. The possibility of making this distinction justifies a reexamination of the relevant passages.

Rahab: *Job 26:12* The sea is stilled רגע,[44] Yam is put in a bag שם שפירה[45] as Rahab is מחץ struck מחץ[46] and the slippery serpent is pierced חלל.[47]

Ps. 89:10 God rules משל[48] the swelling of the sea, its waves are stilled שבח,[49] as Rahab is crushed דכא כחלל[50] and God's enemies are scattered פזר.[51]

Is. 51:9 The sea and the waters of "the great tehom" are dried up חרב[52] as the dragon is pierced חלל, Rahab is hewn חצב.[53]

Leviathan: *Job 3:8* Yam is cursed ארר as Leviathan is roused ערר.[54]

Ps. 74:13 Yam is broken apart פרר[55] as the heads of the tannin, Leviathan, are broken; springs and brooks are cleaved בקע,[56] streams are cried יבש.[57]

Tannin: In addition to the above, Job 7:12 "Am I the sea or a monster that you set a guard שם משמר over me?"[58]

In Job 3:8 and 7:12 ים may as well be another name for the monster. In Job 26:12 there is a chiastic pairing of mythical and naturalistic expressions. Yam is bagged, the sea is quelled, just as in Ps. 89:10 "you rule the swelling of the sea" is an interpretation of the crushing of Rahab. In Is. 51:9 actions appropriate to the sea are distinguished from those appropriate to the monster, and the statements about ים appear to be naturalistic reinterpretations of the mythological references. One passage, Ps. 74:13, remains to be classified, and that depends on the significance of פרר.[59] Given the other references to Earth (Is. 24:19) as a personality,[60] the personal reference of Job 16:12 gains weight and so I would say that it is here synonymously parallel to "break heads" and that the ים of Ps. 74:13 should be grouped with the two Job references as a name, and distinguished from the springs, brooks and streams of v. 15.

Though it has not appeared in the discussion of the various monsters, this is perhaps the best place to introduce Ps. 68:31, since it contributes most significantly to the picture of Yam:

גער חית קנה עדת אבירים בעגלי עמים מתרפס ברצי
כסף בזר עמים קרבות יחפצו:

> Rebuke the beasts that dwell among the reeds, the herd of bulls with the calves of the peoples. Trample under foot those who lust after tribute; scatter the peoples who delight in war.

Gunkel makes much of this passage, as an apocalyptic vision of the judgment of the nations. He translates:

> [Jahve] hat gescholten die Tiere des Schilfes, die Versammlung der Götter, die Volksgebieter [reading בעלי and separating עם from ים]. Das aufgewühlte Meer machte er lauterer als Silber [i.e. clean]; versprengte [פזר] die Völker, die am Krieg ihre Lust hatten.

> Yahweh scolded the beasts of the reeds and the council of the gods, the rulers of the people; and the befouling sea he made lighter than silver and chased away the people that enjoyed war.

He explains that the scribe, having read אבירים as "bulls," mistakenly wrote the parallel עגלי.[61] חית קנה may be a euphemism for Rahab or Behemoth; like nahash, a way of referring to the monster, who is here again characterized in a way that associates him with Egypt (קנה). The plural, like רהבים in Ps. 40:5[62] is a historicizing and generalizing of the term to refer to the nations which now represent the enemy power. It is difficult to make sense out of what follows. The parallel of the nations to the sea is common, but Gunkel's reconstruction is too forced to be convincing. "Lusting after tribute" makes better sense now in the light of UT, 137:37:

> [wyʿn.]ŧr.abh.el.ʿbdk.bʿl.y ymm.ʿbdk.bʿl
> [ŧpṭ.nhr]m bn.dgn.asrkm.hw.ybl.argmnk.kelm
> [agṁnk]ybl.wbn qdš.mnḥyk.

And the Bull El his father answered:

> Baal is thy servant, O Yam, Baal is thy servant, [Judge Nahar,] Dagon's son is thy bondman. He himself shall be brought (as) thy (tribute of) purple when the gods bring [thy (tribute of) purple] and the holy ones thy gifts.

There is support for the idea that Yam is a מתרפס in Ez. 32:2 where Pharaoh is accused of being a tannin who fouls (רפס) the rivers. So read:

> Curse the "beasts of the reeds," the council of the mighty ones, the leaders of the people, the befouling Yam who lusts after tribute; scatter the peoples who delight in war

taking all of these as poetically synonymous expressions.

Summary conclusion.-- In the Bible, Yam the monster (the dirty tyrant)[63] is cursed ארר, muzzled שם שפרה, guarded שם משמר, broken פרר.

Yam parallel to tehom

Yam is found several times parallel to tehom, but in those cases it refers to the sea as a part of the cosmos and not to the monster.

UT, 52:30 [el.yn]bh.gp ym.wyṣgt.gp.thm[t..yd]lp mšt ltm
...hlh lšpl hlh.trm.

> El thinks of the shore of the sea and advances to the shore of the ocean; . . . he lets it trickle by two handfuls . . . One (woman) reaches down, the other reaches up;

Job 28:14 תהום אמר לא בי וים אמר אין עמדי

> The deep says (wisdom) is not in me and the sea says it is not with me.

38:16 הבאת עד נבכי ים ובחקר תהום התהלכת:

Have you entered the springs of the sea or walked in the recesses of the deep?

Is. 51:10 את היא המחרבת ים מי תהום רבה

You dried up sea, the waters of mighty tehom;

Ps. 33:7 כנס כנד מי הים נתן באצרות תהומות

He gathered the waters of the sea in a pitcher,[64] gave into storehouses the deep.

107:23f. יעלו שמים ירדו תהומות

[Sailors] went up to heaven, down to the deep.

135:6 כל אשר חפץ יהוה עשה בשמים ובארץ בימים וכל תהומות

All that the Lord pleases he does in heaven, on earth, in the waters and all the deep.

The parallel between yam and tehom may be identical (Job 28:14, cf. v. 22) or complimentary, referring to the upper and lower oceans (UT, 52:30, Ps. 33:7), in which case tehom is the lower ocean, as it appears in antithetical parallelism with heaven (Ps. 107:23f. and Ps. 135:6). This is in agreement with the Ugaritic use of the word.

Thm in Ugaritic.--

ʿnt III:22-3 tant.šmm.ʿm.arṣ.thmt.ʿmn.kkbm

The murmuring of heaven to the earth, of the deeps to the stars.

Stars cannot parallel earth, so chiastic coupling of earth and tehom must be read; so also UT, 52:30 (above).

I Aqht 42f.	šbʿ.šnt	For seven years
	yṣrk.bʿl.ṯmn.rkb	Baal failed,[65] for eight the rider

ʿrpt.bl.ṭl.bl.rd	on the clouds, without dew, without showers (rbb, Gordon)
bl.šrʿ.thmtm.bl	without the upsurging of the deeps, without
ṭbn.ql.bʿl	the sweet sound of Baal's voice.

Compare this passage with II Sam. 1:21

הרי בגלבע אל טל ואל מטר עליכם ושדי תרומות :

> Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew or rain upon you, nor upsurging of the deep![66]

The land is cursed with drought as the waters that come from above and the waters that come from below are cut off.

UT, 51:iv:20	idk.l ttn.pnm	Then surely (Anat) set her face
	ʿm.el.mbk.nhrm	toward El at the source of the rivers
	qrb.apq.thmtm	in the midst of the channels of the deep.[67]

El's throne is situated where he can control the waters; compare this passage with Ps. 29:10 יהוה למבול ישב "The Lord sits (enthroned) over the flood" and Ez. 28:2 אל אני מושב אלהים ישבתי בלב ימים Tyre says, "I am a god, I sit in the seat of the gods, in the heart of the seas." The "seat of the gods" is secured by Ea: "On Apsu he established his dwelling place."[68] Upper and lower oceans are not necessarily distinguished in this figure.[69] As in Hebrew, the form of the word varies, four times thmt (of which twice with enclitic mem) and once *thm*, implying a similar transition toward loss of personality. There is otherwise nothing in the Ugaritic material to indicate animate nature.[70]

Summary of the Relationship of the Various Names of the Monster Associated with Water

The most general appellation is Yam which is found parallel to three 'animals' Rahab, Leviathan and the tannin, as well as to *tehom*. That it is not found parallel to *nahash* or *bṯn*, which appear in descriptive appellation of the three, is expected as *nahash* = *bṯn* is a land animal in nature. The naturalistic sense of *yam* is too strong to permit this incongruity. *Tannin* parallels the two other animals and Yam; Leviathan and Rahab are found parallel to *tannin* and *yam* but not to each other. The implication of this is that *tannin* is a generic term for monster, while Leviathan and Rahab are specific names that are still felt as such. *Tehom* is not found parallel to the animal names, which would indicate that when it parallels *yam*, *yam* is not animal. One passage, קפאו תהמות בלב ים "The deeps congealed in the heart of the sea," (Ex. 15:8) implies a subordinate relation of "tehom" to the sea: ים is the more general term; the deep is a particular part of the sea. *Tehom* is the home of Leviathan, Job 41:24, while the sea is the home of the tannin, Is. 27:1, Ez. 32:2, *UT*, 68:50.

Attempts to relate these names as principal and helpers is misguided.[71] They come from originally distinguishable traditions[72] and are assimilated at different stages and to various degrees and related to each other as the distinctions between the source groups dissolve, much in the same way that the originally separate stories of the patriarchs are brought into relation.[73] Just as the distinctions between the patriarchs are sometimes blurred so that the same things may be said to have happened to two of them,[74] so the same things may be said of different monsters. Both Rahab and Leviathan are נחש בריח (Job 26:12, Is. 27:1) for instance. Also, contradictory things may be said of the same monster: Leviathan is smashed and his body is given for food (Ps. 74:14) but he is hooked and held on a nose-ring (Job 40:25f.). What makes this possible is the awareness that the various ways of telling the story all serve the same function--it is basically the same story. The familiar phenomenon of syncretization of gods that takes place when cultures merge depends on this same kind of recognition.

If we were to consider the literary references as archeological strata, lacking further evidence, the youngest would appear to be Rahab, then Leviathan since he appears in the Ugaritic texts, tannin as subsuming these two, and tehom which has all but lost its mythical personality. Yam in Ugaritic (and Hebrew) is, like tiamtu in Akkadian, a proper name which is also a common noun. The distinction that we try to make between the sea as a symbol and Yam as the name of a mythological monster would have been incomprehensible to the myth-makers. For them it made no sense to differentiate between the inner experience of dread and the outer environment with which it corresponded. The sea was not *like* the monster; the correlation was immediate and complete. Albright remarks on "the extent to which the Canaanite gods receive etymologically transparent names and appellations" and concludes "that Canaanite religion was in this respect, at least, more primitive and nearer its fountain-head than the others."[75] Perhaps, then, the other names would be less "primitive" in the sense that they were originally epithets. The various ways of referring to "the sea": Leviathan "the coiler," Rahab "the tyrant," Nahash "the snake," came to replace the original name, freeing it for non-mythological use when the value of making a distinction made itself felt. It may be this very process to which Cassirer points when he observes,

> Language does not belong exclusively to the realm of myth; it bears within itself, from its very beginning, another power, the power of logic. How this power gradually waxes great, and breaks its way by means of language, we cannot undertake to set forth here.[76]

The exciting fact is that we have both stages of language in the literature of the Bible and can, if we listen closely, hear how it shifts from one to the other.[77]

Now that we have established that the monster, Yam, is to be found in the Bible, we have still to consider various expressions that, though not found in the passages examined in section one, imply that yam is a personality because they are inappropriate to the sea. Lastly, there are expressions which though appropriate to the sea, can now be understood as translations of mythological language.

Before proceeding to that discussion, however, let us consider the possibility hinted at on page II-11-9 that an earth-monster as well as a sea-monster is to be found in the Bible. If we can establish that possibility, again by strict attention to parallels, then we will no longer have to depend on the passages which refer directly to the myth of the battle with a monster to verify mythological allusions, but can appreciate the light shed on each other by the references to "the waters" and to "the earth." Since there are a great many more passages which speak of the sea (and, as I think, of the earth) that are evocative of the myth than there are direct references to the battle with the monster, we will have gained a great advantage toward appreciating the powerful use to which the myth is put in Israel, as proof of God's sovereignty. Again speaking of the emancipation of language from Myth, Cassirer remarks:

> There is one intellectual realm in which the word not only preserves its original creative

> power, but is ever renewing it; in which it undergoes a sort of constant palingenesis, at once a sensuous and a spiritual reincarnation. This regeneration is achieved as language becomes an avenue of artistic expression. Here it recovers the fullness of life; but it is no longer a life mythically bound and fettered, but an aesthetically liberated life. . . . This liberation is achieved not because the mind throws aside the sensuous forms of word and image, but in that it uses them both as organs of its own, and thereby recognizes them for what they really are: forms of its own self-revelation.[78]

The biblical poets make free use of the ancient formulas without being bound by the structure of the myth proper and the world view it implies.

Notes to Section ii of Chapter II

1. The word is very likely related to the Greek Python, the name of the monster that Apollo fought at Delphi. For its relation to the combat myth, see Fontenrose, Python (600 pp.)

2. Both bite (Am. 5:19, UT, 49:vi:21), both are found in synonymous parallelism with אפעה and צפעוני cf. Job 20:16, Is. 11:8, 14:29, and 30:6; and associated with lions: 1 Aqht 223, Is. 65:25.

   > The balance between נחש and פתן is now documented in the unpublished tablet RS 24.244: nḥšm mhrk bn bṯnm itnnk, 'A present of serpents is your dowry, your gift a brood of adders.' (Dahood, Psalms II, p. 59.)

3. Ibid., p. 145.

4. "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalm LXVIII)," HUCA, XXIII (1950-51), p. 27.

5. F. Charles Fensham, "Psalm 68:23 in the Light of the Recently Discovered Ugaritic Tablets," JNES, XIX (1960), p. 292-93.

6. On the one hand, the Yahwist was faced with the problem of how to explain the entrance of evil into God's paradise. On the other hand, he saw evil as a demonic power, but he could not allow a dualistic concept of evil. This struggle is evidenced in the Yahwist's reworking of his older mythical 'vorlage.' The snake was reduced formally to an animal of the creation, yet as far as his traits are concerned, he remains a demon. (B. S. Childs, "A Study of Myth in Genesis I-XI," [Ph.D dissertation, Universitat Basel; Plymouth, Wisconsin, 1955], p. 50.)

The care that has been taken to specify in 3:1 "the serpent that God had made" belies an awareness that the serpent in the garden ultimately "descends" from the monster.

7. Unless נחש connotes in some small measure the monster who will be destroyed ביום ההוא (Is. 27:1) as he was בימי קדם (Is. 51:9).

8. Nu. 21:6, 8; Is. 30:6; Dt. 8:15.

9. Ex. 7:9f., see p. II-1-22.

10. "Winged Serpents in Isaiah's Inaugural Vision," _JBL_, LXXVI (1967), p. 410-415.

11. As was Nebuchadrezzar, who is compared to the tannin, Jer. 51:34.

12. In his discussion of the relationship between _Ti'amat_ and _tehom_, Heidel says

> the only way in which we can account for the . . . morphological differences between _Ti'amat_ and _tehom_ is by assuming that both words go back to a common Semitic form. (p. 100)

Heidel's conclusion is that

> though coming from the same root, the two words do not denote the same thing . . . _Ti'amat_ . . . is a mythical personality. Such significance the Old Testament _tehom_ never has. (p. 99)

13. Gevirtz speaks of the traditional "repertory of poetic diction" (p. 11), which has been analyzed in the Homeric epics by Milman Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-making," I and II,

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, XLI (1930), p. 73-147 and XLIII (1932), p. 1-50.

14. תהום is m. sg. four times: Job 28:14, Hab. 3:10, Jon. 2:6, Ps. 42:8; f. sg. nine times; Gen. 7:11, Am. 7:4, Is. 51:10, Ps. 36:7 תהום רבה; Gen. 49:25, Dt. 33:13 תהום רבצת; Ez. 31:4 תהום רממתהו; Ez. 31:15 תהום ... נהרותיה; Job 41:24 יחשב תהום לשיבה, In the following eight passages there is no indication of gender: Gen. 1:2, 8:2, Ez. 26:19, Ps. 104:6, Job 38:16, 30, Pr. 8:27, 28.

תהמת is m. pl. twice: Ex. 15:5, 8; Dt. 8:7 is not necessarily plural.

תהמות or תהומות appears eleven times, of which one is f. sg. Ps. 78:15, two are m. pl. Pr. 3:20, Ps. 77:17, and eight appear without indication (other than form) of number or gender: Is. 63:13, Ps. 33:7, 71:20, 106:9, 107:26, 135:6, 148:7, Pr. 8:24. The possibly feminine cases outnumber the possibly masculine cases two to one. Of the total of 35 cases, only four are plural, as indicated by the m. pl. form of the verb, and the form of the noun itself in each of those cases is f. sg. (see below, note 25). Of the four cases of m. sg. (as indicated by the form of the verb), three are concluded to be poetic hypostatizations. (No conclusion was made about Jonah 2:6.)

15. A similar process was assumed to account for the plural רהבים in Ps. 40:5, see p. II-1-5.

16. Albright explained חכמות (Pr. 9:1) as a Phoenician f. sg. form, like milkōt, "Queen" (name of a deity), *VTS*, III (1955), p. 8, as noted by Dahood, who lists (with bibliographical notes) other instances of this ending, including Ps. 78:15 (*Psalms II*, p. 21).

17. One encounters in Ugaritic correspondence the formula, *špš mlk rb*, 'the suzerain, the great king'; *e.g.*, *UT*, 118:25-26; 108:1-2. The Akkadian equivalent is *šarru rabū*. (Dahood, *Psalms I*, p. 284).

18. Herbert Gordon May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of *Mayim Rabbim*, 'Many Waters,'" *JBL*, LXXIV (1955), p. 9-21.

19. Except for Is. 54:11 הנה אנכי מרביץ בפוך אבניך

20. The only way that the present reading *ht‘t rbs* can be grammatically correct is in a predicative phrase: 'Sin is a *rbs*' with the following possessives referring to *rbs*, a masculine form. The verb is known in Hebrew but not a noun. However, Akkadian *rābiṣum* is a term for demon. (both benevolent and malevolent, lurking at the entrance of a building. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis* ["Anchor Bible," New York: Doubleday & Co., 1964], p. 33).

21. ארר, Job 3:8, p. II-1-10.

22. *Note* II-1-66.

23. Like Ereshkigal, the queen of the Nether World in the Sumerian myth of Inanna (Akkadian Ishtar)'s descent to the land of the dead (*ANET*, p. 106-109).

24. This is a most interesting passage. When Baal went down to Mot, the waters were held back and the land suffered drought (I Aqht 45)

šbʿ.šnt	Baal failed for seven years
yṣrk.bʿl.ṯmn.rkb	the rider on the clouds for eight (years, leaving the land)
ʿrpt.bl.tl.bl.rd (UT rbb)	without dew, without showers, etc.

After Noah's flood the waters were restrained, which was good, Gen. 8:2 ויסכרו מעינת תהום וארבת השמים ויכלא הגשם מן השמים: There is in Ez. 31:15 a pregnant ambiguity, depending on Ezekiel's choice of כלא (only in these two places used of water, otherwise of a person, an animal, or part of a person--lips, feet--in poetic hypostatization). Tehom mourns for the death of Pharoah. Whereas the waters dried up when the god died, here the enemy dies and the drying of the waters is the constructive act of putting them in their place.

25. The plural verb depersonalizes תהמות (the form may be read f. sg., see note 15 above), just as the plural ימים (e.g. Gen. 1:10) precludes the idea of a monster which the singular ים may evoke (see below p. II-ii-11). If I am correct in this explanation of how the plural of (originally f.) תהמות arose, then the poetic image תהום אל תהום קורא of Ps. 42:8 is a secondary hypostatization, and the final "m" of Ugaritic thmtm (UT, 51:iv:20) is enclitic rather than the dual termination read by Gordon, Driver and Ginsberg (cf. II Sam. 22:16 [sg.] אפקי ים).

26. P. I-i-30. *EE* IV:90 "To the (very) roots her two legs shook back and forth."

27. Eissfeldt, in his monograph on El, 1951, referred to by Pope, *El in the UT*, p. 61.

28. *Ibid*., p. 69f.

29. *Ibid*., p. 71.

30. Brevard S. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1960), p. 33.

31. See *note* II-i-67 for other references to the myth in this oracle against Babylon.

32. For further discussion of this passage, see below, p. II-ii- 16.

33. E. Z. Melamed discussed the phenomenon of compound linguistic stereotypes and illustrated the frequent poetic device of breaking the expression into its component elements which are then distributed between the first and second members of the verse in his article: "Break-up of Stereotype Phrases as an Artistic Device in Biblical Poetry," Scripta *Hierosolymitana*, VIII, ed. Chaim Rabin (Jerusalem, 1961).

34. *Ibid*., p. 131f.

35. *UT*, 129:9 *bht zbl ym* ‖ *hkl ŧpṭ nhr* (mansion, palace) and twice more, ll. 7 and 21. *UT*, 137:17 *ym.bʿl km*. ‖ *abnkm.ŧ[pṭ.nhr]* (lord, master) and l. 31. L. 22 *mlak.ym*. ‖ *tʿdt.ŧpṭ.nhr* (messengers, embassy) and 6 times; the curse *UT*, 68:13, etc.

36. Reading enclitic mem. The parallel to ים is always elsewhere either נהר or נהרות. H. D. Hummel lists Hab. 3:8 בנהר as a case of enclitic mem misread as the plural termination on p. 94 of his article, "Enclitic mem in Early Northwest Semitic, Especially Hebrew," JBL, LXXVI (1957), p. 85-107.

37.

> Usually identified with the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, respectively, yam and nehārōt may well be mythical terms expressing world-wide dominion. . . . Apparently plural nehārōt (cf. behēmōt) is really the feminine singular of the Phoenician type . . . so also Milik in Revue biblique 73 (1966), 101. (Dahood, Psalms II, p. 317, and see note 16, above.)

Since נהרות in close association with ים elsewhere (Ps. 93:3) takes a plural verb, I see no reason to insist on the singular here.

38. Ps. 24:2 כי הוא על ימים יסדה ועל נהרות יכוננה "For he has founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the rivers."

39. Is. 43:2 כי תעבר במים אתך אני ובנהרות לא ישטפוך "When you pass through the waters I will be with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you." And see Is. 47:1, 2: Babylon is commanded to "sit on the ground . . . pass through the rivers." שבי לארץ...עברי נהרות

40. For discussion of יבש, see below, p. II-iv-10. Job 14:11f. presents one more case of נהר ‖ ים:
אזלו מים מני ים ונהר יחרב ויבש:בו) ואיש שכב ולא יקום עד

בלתי שמים לא יקיצו ולא יערו משנתם : 13)מי יתן בשאול
תצפנני תסתירני עד שוב אפך תשית לי חק ותזכרני :

> As waters fail from a lake, and a river wastes away and dries up, 12) so man lies down and rises not again; till the heavens are no more he will not awake, or be roused out of his sleep. 13) Oh that you would hide me in Sheol, that you would conceal me until your wrath is past, that you would appoint me a set time [a bound that he cannot pass, v. 5] and remember me!

The passage may be interpreted in the light of the myth as follows: As Yam-Nahar was defeated, so a man cannot be roused (Leviathan, Job 3:8) from the sleep of death. So let me, like the monster, rest in Sheol, harmless behind your barrier. Let me not suffer the judgment of God's order (see discussion of חק, below, p. II-iv- 19), but put me "beyond the pale" until the day of judgment is past. This alternative is preferable as offering a degree of immortality that is not vouchsafed to man within God's order. (Despair with the change that God's order has successfully institutionalized is expressed, v. 17. See again Hornung's statement about immortality quoted in note I-ii-61). Amos 9:2 answers that there is no refuge from God's judgment in Sheol, the bottom of the sea, or foreign captivity (equivalent terms) since even the Serpent (נחש) is in God's employ (p. II-ii- 5).

41. Cf. Ps. 107:33 ישם נהרות למדבר ומצאי מים לצמאון "He turns rivers into a desert, springs of water into thirsty ground."

42. See on דכא/דכה note II-i-6.

43. Taking רבים here with Dahood (Psalms II, p. 341) as syntactically parallel to אדירים, a plural adjective referring to God.

44. See note II-i-8.

45. See note II-i-9.

46. See notes II-i-17, 58.

47. See note II-i-7.

48. See note II-i-16.

49. See note II-i-5.

50. See note II-i-6.

51. Step two of the space model, p. I-i-30.

52. See p. II-iv-10.

53. See note II-i-2.

54. See p. II-i-10.

55. See note II-i-29.

56. See p. II-iv-6.

57. See p. II-iv-10.

58. See note II-i-59.

59. See note II-i-29.

60. See p. II-iii-3.

61. Discussion and notes p. 66f.

62. See above, p. II-i-5.

63. Mary Douglas' remarks about dirt (Purity and Danger) illuminate this characteristic of the monster: "Dirt is essentially disorder." (p. 2) "Dirt was created by the differentiating activity of mind, it was a by-product of the creation of order." (p. 161) "The reaction to dirt is continuous with other reactions to ambiguity and anomaly." (p. 5)

64. Dahood, Psalms I, p. 201 reads kened, on the basis of Ugaritic knd, and the principle of the double-duty preposition.

> As a corollary, the imagery is to be dissociated from Ex. 15:8 [נצבו כמו נד נזלים 'The streams stood up in a heap'] and related to that found in Job 38:8-10, 22, 37; Ps. 135:7; Is. 45:3; Jer. 10:13, which mention storehouses of snow, hail, and water in the heavens."

65. Gordon interprets it as a curse, "May Baal fail" etc. (Ugaritic Literature, p. 94).

66. RSV accepts the emendation שרעתהמות, see Ginsberg, JBL, LVII, p. 209-13 noted by Driver, p. 61, n. 1. ר and ד are easy to confuse in the old script.

67. See above, note 25.

68. EE I:71. See discussion above, p. I-1-23f.

69. Perhaps the expression תנין על המים (Ps. 74:13) is to be distinguished from תנין בים (Is. 27:1) as a reference to the rule of the monster over the waters before he was vanquished and his place was taken by the god.

Mishna (Parah. III. 3) says the temple stood

מפני תהום. Targum (Ps.-Jon. to Exod. 28:30) says the temple rock closes the "mouth of the תהום." Possibly Ps. 29:10 refers to this. (J. J. Jackson, "The Deep," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. G. A. Buttrick [4 vols., New York: 1962] = IDB.)

70. Until we come to the latest fragments published in PRU V Fragment 19:30 w tglš thmt.ʿ[...]yṣi ǵlh tḥm b[... (Charles Virolleaud, Le Palais Royal D'Ugarit: Textes en Cuneiforme Alphabetique, ed. C. F. A. Schaeffer [Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1965], p. 3) the interpretation of which hangs on the verb tglš. The root גלש is found in Hebrew, Cant. 4:1, 6:5 where it is translated "go down." Perhaps it is simply a statement that Astart went down to the netherworld. On the other hand, Virolleaud translates, "Et elle soulève l'océan con[tre? . . . " "The ocean is roused." The verb occurs once more in the obscure passage UT, 51:v:69 "bʿl.yʿdn.ʿdn.ṯrt. bglṯ" "Baal will give abundance of rain, moisture with snow." The verb ʾnn or ʾny (אנן) is found in ʿnt III:22 associated with thmt.

71. Gunkel interprets the plural תנינים (Ps. 74:13) as a reference to the helpers of Leviathan, like the בני שחץ (Job 41:26), the "helpers of Rahab" (Job 9:13), the "enemies of God" (Ps. 89:11) and the

"terrors" (Ps. 104:26); subordinate beings who assist the monster in battle.

> Wenn also Rahab und Leviathan mythische Personificationen der תהום sind, so haben wir die Drachen als Personificationen der תהמות, der Wogen des Meeres Ps. 89:10, anzusehen. (p. 69)

Cassuto regards prince Yam, judge Nahar, Leviathan, the serpent and the dragon as Mot's assistants, in his article "Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic Texts," IEJ, XII (1962), p. 77-86 (first published in BIES, IX [1942], p. 45-51).

72. Anton Jirku considers the testimony of the different names important for distinguishing the various sources of Canaanite mythology (p. 11). He finds five different versions of the creation myth corresponding to five different names which may represent five different city-states (p. 28). (Der Mythus Der Kanaanaer [Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1966].)

73. Martin Noth explains that Joseph began as the patriarch of the house of Joseph. He later acquired significance for Israel as a whole and Jacob became the ancestor of the whole of Israel. The same kind of development accounts for the positions of Isaac and Abraham, who were added later when the traditions of the Pentateuch were developed further among the southern tribes, and then given geneological precedence over Jacob. (The History of Israel [New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958], p. 120ff., esp. p. 124.)

74. Abraham's wife Sarah and Isaac's wife Rebekah are each known to Abimelech of Gerar as the sister of her husband, Gen. 20:2 and 26:9.

75. Archeology and The Religion of Israel (2n ed., Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1946), p. 71.

76. Ernst Cassirer, Language and Myth, trans. Susanne K. Langer (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), p. 97.

77. Suggested examples of mythical language in transition and translation:

	Mythical		Logical
ים	sea		monster (p. II-ii-25
חלל	pierce		defile (note II-i-7)
פרר	break		violate (note II-i-29
גער ב	scold		immobilize (p. II-iv-16)
דרך על	trample on	דרך ב	take possession of (p. II-iv-3)
פרר, חלל		= בקע	split open (p. II-iv-6)
בלע	swallow	= כסה	cover (p. II-iv-11)
כלה, מחץ	kill	= יבש, חרב	dry up (water) (p. II-iv-10)

78. Cassirer, p. 98f.

Section iii: The Earth-Monster

Mot

The argument made to justify a search for the monster "Yam" in the Old Testament serves as well for "Mot." The alternative of reading the noun "death" or the name "Mot" in Ugaritic alerts us to the possibility that this alternative exists in biblical poetry also.

Mot's chief characteristic in the Ugaritic texts is his voracious appetite. He has "Jaws reaching to earth, lips to heaven and a tongue to the stars."[1] Baal, who must go down into his miry gorge,[2] is like a sheep in his mouth.[3] Mot says it is natural for him to "eat with both my hands."[4] The passage that comes closest to providing a physical description of him is the account of the wrestling match: In the battle with Baal, Mot and Baal both "butt like wild oxen" (yngḥn krumm), "bite like serpents" (ynṯkn kbṯnm), "kick like charters" (ymṣḫn klsmm) until Shapash, as El's messenger, confirms Baal's victory.[5]

Mot's fate at the hands of Anat is described in detail. She rips him open with a sword (bḥrb tbqʿnn), winnows him in a sieve (bḫṯr tdrynn), burns him in fire (bešt tšrpnn), grinds him with mill-stones (brḥm tṭḥnn), sows or scatters him in a field (bšd tdrʿnn) where the birds finish him off (kly).[6]

Death is personified in the Bible as the shepherd of the dead (Ps. 49:15) whose messengers (Pr. 16:14), particularly his first-born son (Job 18:13) should be respected.[7] As overseer of the underworld he can be negotiated with: Assyria says, "We have made a covenant with Death" (Is. 28:15); the Lord considers ransoming Israel from the power of Sheol, redeeming them from Death, מידשאול אפדם ממות אגאלם (Hos. 13:14). Death actively pursues his victims, entering palaces through windows, עלה מות בחלונינו (Jer. 9:20). He is equipped with snares and cords to entangle his victims,

> אפפוני חבלי מות ונחלי בליעל יבעתוני: 6) חבלי
> שאל סבבוני קדמוני מוקשי מות:
>
> The cords of death encompassed me, the torrents of perdition assailed me; the cords of Sheol entangled me, the snares of death confronted me.[8] (Ps. 18:5f.)

Mot's appetite is his chief characteristic not only in the Ugaritic texts, but also in the Old Testament. The arrogant man is characterized,

> הרחב כשאל נפשו והוא כמות ולא ישבע
>
> His throat[9] is as wide as Sheol; like death he has never enough, (Hab. 2:5)

compare this with Is. 5:14

> לכן הרחיבה שאל נפשה ופערה פיה לבלי חק
>
> Sheol has enlarged its threat and opened its mouth beyond measure.

From Hab. 2:5 it is clear that Sheol is another name for Mot. Sheol is never satisfied, שאל ואבדה לא תשבענה (Pr. 27:20);

> שלוש הנה לא תשבענה ארבע לא אמרו הון 16) שאול
> ועצר רחם ארץ לא שבעה מים ואש . . .
>
> Three things are never satisfied; four never say, "Enough": 16) Sheol, the barren womb, the earth ever thirsty for water, and fire . . . (Pr. 30:15f.)

The verb בלע is employed,

ובלעם כשאול חיים ותמימים כיורדי בור

> Like Sheol let us swallow them alive and whole,
> like those who go down to the pit, (Pr. 1:12)

and it is said,

בלע המות לנצח

> The Lord will swallow up death forever. (Is. 25:8)

The means of destruction is significant as it strikes the very heart of Mot's power. This is the most magnificent example of "symmetrical transformation."[10] If God is "the swallower" then Mot is truly nothing.

A more conventional demise is described, Hab. 3:13b (according to Albright), "Thou didst smite the head of wicked death destroying (him) tail-end to neck."[11] If this reading is accepted, it is the only direct reference to a conflict between Yahweh and Mot.

Ereṣ

As Cassuto has pointed out, Mot's devouring of the dead is a metaphor for their descent to the underworld.[12] "Baal seized the sons of Athirat . . . Mot gaped open (that) they might go right into the earth." (UT, 49:v:1f. "ṣḥr mt ymṣe larṣ.") Here arṣ is the underworld, as it is often elsewhere in the Ugaritic texts and the Bible,[13] and is practically synonymous with mt. Once this synonymity is established, arṣ can as easily take on personality, as mt may designate a region. As Mot opens his jaws to swallow Baal, or the sons of Athirat, so

Eres swallows Pharaoh and his host,

נטית ימינך תבלעמו ארץ

> You stretched out your right hand, the earth swallowed them. (Ex. 15:12)

Korah, Dathan and Abiram,

ותפתח הארץ את פיה ותבלע אתם

> The earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up.[14] (Nu. 16:32)

Just as Mob was afraid when Baal's sovereignty was confirmed,[15] Eres might well tremble at the presence of the Lord "who turns the rock into a pool of water," (Ps. 114:7 (מלפני אדון חולי ארץ ·· ההפכי הצור אגם מים):[16]

ראתה ותחל הארץ הרים כדונג נמסו מלפני יהוה
מלפני אדון כל הארץ

> The earth sees his lightning and trembles. The mountains melt like wax before Yahweh the Lord of all the earth"; (Ps. 97:4-5)

ודרך על במות ארץ:4)ונמסו ההרים תחתיו והעמקים תבקע

> He will tread upon the back of the earth and the mountains will melt under him and the valleys will be cleft.[17] (Mi. 1:3-4)

He founds his vault upon the earth (like Ea on Apsu, EE I:71),

הנוגע בארץ ותמוג ·· הבונה בשמים מעלותו ואגדתו
על ארץ יסדה הקרא למי הים וישפכם על פני הארץ
יהוה שמו

> He who touches the earth and it melts, . . . 6) Who builds his upper chambers in the heavens, and founds his vault upon the earth; who calls for the waters of the sea, and pours them out upon the surface of the earth--Yahweh is his name. (Am. 9:5-6)

מוג means "to melt in fear" and is said of people,[18] suggesting that ארץ may be a person in Ps. 46:7 נתן בקולו תמוג ארץ "He utters his voice, the earth melts"[19] and Na. 1:5 הרים רעשו ממנו והגבעות התמגגו "The mountains quake before him, the hills melt."[20]

The admonition in Ps. 114:7 can be taken to indicate that Ereṣ once exercised independent will;[21] the references to "melting" are then appropriate to the enemy, or to the earth as it symbolizes a closed, resistant body which God has the power to dissolve, ברביבים תמגגנה "Thou softenest [the earth] with showers." (Ps. 65:11) Then the shifting of the earth (Ps. 46:3)[22] refers to its rebellious stirring. Childs concludes from his study of the verb רעש "shake" that it "evolved into a technical term . . . to depict a return . . . of chaos at the end of the current era."[23] It is mostly used to refer to a shaking of the earth or a part of it, and is threatening,

> ירעשו הרים ... אלהים בקרבה [עיר אלהים] בל תמוט
>
> Though the mountains shake . . . God is in the midst of [the city of God], she shall not be moved. (Ps. 46:4-6)

In Ps. 18:8

> ותגעש ותרעש הארץ ומוסדי הרים ירגזו
> ויתגעשו כי חרה לו:
>
> (II Sam. 22:8 מוסדות השמים)
> Then the earth reeled and rocked; the foundations also of the mountains trembled and quaked, because he was angry

and Na. 1:5 (above) the quaking of the earth is caused by Yahweh who "has assumed the powers once attributed to chaos."[24]

Searching for other possible names for the earth-monster, we are reminded by the mention of Apsu (above) of the expression אפסי ארץ which has been recognized since Gunkel to contain a reference to the Babylonian myth. Like Tiamat's, Apsu's personality has faded until only a cosmological term remains. The "ends of the earth" are the boundaries set up by God at the time of creation, מי הקים כל אפסי ארץ (Pr. 30:4)[25] and these boundaries (sometimes referred to as Tehom's rivers)[26] are in some respect monstrous, as we have seen.[27]

More fruitful are the suggestions provided by the list of enemies dispatched by Anat.[28] Since we have shown that ym-nhr is a hendiadys,[29] the likelihood is that the other pairs of terms each refer to one representation of the monster, so that any half can provide a clue to the nature of the other half. The list includes "ym-nhr," "tnn-btn-ʿqltn-šlyt d šbʿt rašm,"[30] "arš- ʿgl," "ešt-žbb." The last pair is compared to the compound expression אש להבה which is found in Is. 4:5; broken in Nu. 21:28 כי אש יצאה מחשבון להבה מקרית סיחן and Is. 10:17. להבה nowhere occurs without אש in the Bible and the likelihood is that in Ugaritic also the pair "fire-and-flame" is an epithetical allusion to one being.[31] That leaves ʿgl, "calf," parallel to arš. It has been pointed out that Anat's treatment of Mot[32] is described in the same terms as Moses' treatment of the golden calf, which is also burned (tšrpnn), ground (tṭḥnn), and scattered on the water (UT, 49:v:20 drʿ bym):

> ויקח את העגל אשר עשו וישרף באש ויטחן עד אשר דק
> ויזר על פני המים
>
> And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it with fire, and ground it to powder, and scattered it upon the water.[33] (Ex. 32:20)

Having examined the close parallelism between the two accounts in some detail in a more recent article, Loewenstamm concluded

> that the biblical description of the destruction of the Golden Calf constitutes an Israelite development of an early literary pattern that was employed in Canaan to describe the total annihilation of a detested enemy.[34]

I would like to propose, on the basis of the passage now under consideration, that Mot and the calf are not only related as enemies but are one and the same enemy, as follows: We suppose that *arš* is a monster from the parallel, "bym arš wtnn" (*UT*, 62:50). Like the tannin, Mot is characterized as a swallower; the synonymity of Mot and *arṣ* has been established, above, and the possible identity of *arṣ* and *arš* has been discussed.[35] If the equivalence of *arṣ* and *arš* is accepted, then the identity of the calf and Mot suggested by their similar fates finds confirmation in the parallel between *arš* and *ʿgl* in ʿnt III: 40-41, and *ʿgl* can be an appellative of Mot-Ereṣ-arš in the same manner that נחש is an appellative of Rahab.[36]

Behemoth

Gunkel translates Job 40:19

הוא ראשית דרכי אל העשו יגש חרבן

> Er ist der Erstling der Wege Gottes geschaffen, dass er das Trockne beherrsche,[37]
>
> He is the first of God's ways,[38] created that he should rule the dry.

He explains, Behemoth is the monster of the Urzeit, master of the dry part before the creation. The idea that he is God's first creation derives from the older conception that he existed before creation, (like Wisdom, Pr. 8:22 (יהוה קנני ראשית דרכו); his function is given, parallel to that of Leviathan who rules the depths (Job 41:25b). Together, like Tiamat and Kingu, they rule the world. Gunkel concludes that Behemoth is an appellative of Rahab, "the beast" par excellence. This is suggested by Is. 30:6 משא בהמות נגב which introduces the statement that Egypt is רהב המשבת.[39]

Pope's opinion is that

> the juxtaposition of Behemoth and Leviathan in Job and in the post-biblical texts suggests that Behemoth, like Leviathan in the Ugaritic texts, had a prototype in pre-Israelite mythology, and that the monsters were connected in some ancient myth or played similar roles in different myths.[40]

He compares Behemoth to the "ʿgl il ʿtk" (ʿnt III:41); the "eaters and devourers" who incapacitate Baal with the result that the land suffers drought and infertility for seven years;[41] and the "bull of heaven" of the Gilgamesh epic in anticipation of the creation of whom preparations for a seven-year drought must be made.[42]

In the light of my analysis of other Near Eastern myths in chapter one, I prefer Pope's second suggestion, that they played similar roles in different myths, and accept Gunkel's reading of 40:19b. Behemoth, "the beast," is the first emergent being from the undifferentiated water[43] whose tyrannical reign[44] is symbolized by drought. His control of the waters is suggested by v. 23 and his relation to Leviathan is like that of Apsu (rather than Kingu) to Tiamat.[45]

One other obscure passage may refer to the monster as Behemoth:

> כי חמס לבנון יכסך ושד בהמות יחיתן מדמי אדם וחמס ארץ
>
> The violence done to Lebanon will overwhelm you;
> the destruction of the beasts will terrify you,
> for the blood of men and violence to the earth.
> (Hab. 2:17)

Ward interprets, "Conquerors customarily cut the timber of Lebanon, kill its cattle and hunt its wild beasts."[46] However, Albright comments, "In 2:17a the giant Lebanon appears as a primordial monster of Syrian mythology,"[47] possibly because it is the name of a mountain, and a mountain can signify the primeval body.[48] Considering לבנון and בהמות to be synonymously parallel to ארץ, the passage makes a little more sense if the construct state is taken to indicate the subjective rather than the objective genitive:

> Lebanon's violence will overwhelm you; Behemoth's destruction will terrify you, (for the blood of men) and the violence of Ereṣ.

If Behemoth and Leviathan play similar roles, what does it mean that they appear together in Job 40-41? For the moment let me suggest that the story of Yahweh's victory is told from two points of view, depending on whether one focuses on breaking the power of the monster, or establishing control of the forces thus released.

Subsequently, the two tales are recombined on the easy assumption that the two ways of conceiving the monster form a pair. The operation of this tendency can be observed in the attempts of the post-biblical tradition to make a sexual pair out of what are clearly in Job two male figures.[49] The distinction between wet and dry[50] which is found in Job is, like the distinction between sweet and salt, an attempt to represent the two as sharing rule.[51] Why it is Leviathan rather than Behemoth, and Tiamat rather than Apsu about whom we have more fully developed traditions becomes an interesting question. At this point it is enough to conjecture from the number of shared motifs that distinctions on the basis of wet and dry, or sex, are secondary. They may be the result of a tendency to dichotomize, of a creative need to break the one into two which is, after all, the way the world is understood to have begun! Evidence of the harmonization process has been left in Enuma Elish[52] and in Job, where Behemoth's nose is pierced (40:24 ינקב אף) but the rope is put through the nose of Leviathan, whose jaw is pierced. התשים אגמון באפו ובחוח תקוב לחין "Can you put a rope in his nose, or pierce his jaw with a hook?" (40:26) The abrupt change between v. 24-25 is noticed by all commentators; Pope leaves

> the verse where it is to show the awkward transition between the descriptions of the two beasts. The treatment of Behemoth is vestigial as compared to that of Leviathan and the two are joined in such a way as to create confusion.[53]

The suggestion that the wet and the dry monsters are two different, perhaps complimentary, ways of conceiving the same thing is not new. Childs concludes that the mythical material in the first chapter of Genesis is from more than one tradition, because the image of chaos in v. 2 is watery (2b-c) and then again, an arid waste (2a):[54]

והארץ היתה תהו ובהו וחשך על פני תהום
ורוח אלהים מרחפת על פני המים

Have we not a perfect diagram of the shifting concept of chaos in the sequence,

> the earth was without form and void. Darkness was on the face of tehom and the spirit of God moved over the face of the waters?

The pivot is tehom which encompasses both earth and sea without becoming identical with either. Childs does not, however, develop this insight as he examines the mythic material. In Myth and Reality he distinguishes four monsters; the Mesopotamian Tiamat who is related to tehom, the Canaanite Lotan, Yam, and "the ground serpent," ancestor of the serpent in the Garden of Eden. In a note in his doctoral dissertation he mentions that according to Philo Byblos, Mot took the form of an egg that was split in two to form heaven and earth.[55] If he had recognized a resemblance to Tiamat in this description of Mot and combined these three separate remarks, he might have been led to conjecture that there may be a connection between Tiamat, Mot, the ground serpent and the dry waste of Gen. 1:2, and so have strengthened his notion that the image of chaos is not always watery.

Summary

Despite our conclusion (end section ii) that Yam, which means sea, is the most general appellation of the monster in the Bible, various names associated exclusively with dry land (not sea) belong to personages that must also be recognized by what they do and by what is done to them, as monsters. "The tannin" re-emerges as the most comprehensive term, as "the swallower" (Jer. 51:34, Ex. 7:12). Since swallowing is the characteristically monstrous activity of the "dry" monster, the tannin is not exclusively a sea beast. It shares with the *ḫuršan* and Tiamat an amphibious nature that may 1) testify to a transition between two concepts of monstrousness, or 2) itself express the essential character of the monster, which is neither one thing nor another, but the (dangerous) boundary between two states.[56]

The monstrousness of the earth which swallows is confirmed by what is said of its various representations:

> The nahash is forever cursed (p. II-ii-2, Leviathan p. II-i-10).
>
> "The serpents" that plague Israel are rendered impotent by means of the serpent that serves God (p. II-ii-3, *tannin* p. II-i-22).
>
> Mot is swallowed (p. II-iii-3) as Ereṣ swallows (p. II-iii-4, *tannin* p. II-i-21).
>
> His head is smitten (p. II-iii-3, Leviathan p. II-i-9).

The parts of Mot (p. II-iii-1 and "the calf" (p. II-iii-6) are scattered (*tannin* p. II-i-17).

Behemoth the primeval tyrant is destroyed (p. II-iii-9 , Rahab p. II-i-6).

The discrepancy between the two fates of the monster who is either killed or captured that Gunkel takes as evidence of variant traditions appears now to correlate best with the distinction between "wet" and "dry" monsters. At least, the terms which describe the confinement of the sea monster do not appear in the "earth" passages. (Rahab as an exceptional case of a sea monster that is unquestionably killed has been explained.)[57]

Notes to Section iii of Chapter II

1. UT, 67:ii:2f.
2. UT, 67:i:8.
3. UT, 49:ii:23.
4. "Bklat ydy[.]elḥm" (UT, 67:i:19-20). Nahum Sarna compares this passage to Job 18:13 ואכל בדי עורו יאכל בדין בכור מות which he translates, "The first-born of Mot will devour his skin with two hands, yea with his two hands he will devour (him)." He explains that the בכור מות is the herald of Mot, like Namtar, son of Ereshkigal in Babylonian mythology, and Hermes in Greek, who drives the souls into Sheol. ("The Mythological Background of Job 18," JBL, LXXXII [1963], p. 315-318.)
5. UT, 49:vi:16f.
6. UT, 49:ii:31f.
7. Cassuto, "Baal and Mot," p. 82f.
8. See also Pr. 13:14, 14:27.

In Ps. 18:5, בליעל appears as a synonym of מות. The derivation of this word has been variously explained, most commonly as a compound noun, בלי יעל "without worth." D. Winton Thomas argues on the basis of this passage for an epithet from the root בלע, "the swallower," an appellative of Mot that can stand by itself as a name (Ps. 41:9; Na. 1:11,2:1). (" בליעל in the

Old Testament," Biblical and Patristic Studies, ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson [New York: Herder, 1963], p. 11-19.) That Mot should be known as "the swallower" is understandable but Thomas' analysis provides no explanation of the yodh.

9. cf. Ug. npš, "Throat," UT, 67:i:7 "l yrt bnpš. bn.elm.mt." "[Baal] must come down into the throat of Mot son of El."

10. See note II-i-66. Sarna notes, in connection with Job 2:3 (Satan moves the Lord against Job to destroy him without cause: לבלעו חנם): "The celebrated Isa 25:8 may well mean that Mot shall be hoisted by his own petard!" ("Epic Substratum in the Prose of Job," JBL, LXXVI [1957], p. 16, n. 4.)

See also Ps. 21:10b יהוה באפו יבלעם [איביו] "The Lord will swallow [his enemies] in his wrath" and Dt. 32:22

> כי אש קדחה באפי ותיקדעדשאול תחתית ותאכל ארץ ויבלה ותלהט מוסדי הרים For a fire is kindled by my anger, and it burns to the depths of Sheol, devours the earth and its increase, and sets on fire the foundations of the mountains. (Cf. below, note 27.)

11. MT has מחצת ראש מבית רשע ערות יסוד עד צואר. The LXX translates ראש רשעים מות, so Albright restores מ( )ות, ("The Psalm of Habakkuk," Studies in Old Testament Prophecy, ed. H. H. Rowley [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1950], p. 1-18, p. 17, n. oo).

12. "Baal and Mot," p. 82.

13. UT, 1 Aqht 127, 141; 62:8, 18; 67:v:5, 15, 16; vi:6, 25; 51:viii:9, 13; 49:ii:19; v:4. Gunkel lists Ex. 15:12, Ec. 3:21, IS. 14:12, 29:4, 44:23; Ez. 26:20 etc.; Ps. 63:10, 139:15 (p. 18 n. 1). See Dahood, Psalms I, p. 106.

14. The definite article prevents ארץ from being read as a name. See also Ps. 106:17 תפתח ארץ ותבלע דתן ותכס על עדת אבירם; the language of myth persists though there is no suggestion of conflict with God in these passages.

15. UT, 49:vi:30 "yrd bn el mt ŧtᶜ ydd el ǵzr."

16. Referring to the water of Meribah Nu. 20:11, the rock of Massah Ex. 17:6, cf. Ps. 78:15f.

17. Note the parallelism of "earth" and "mountains" which renders them synonymous. For discussion of דרך על במות see below p. II-iv-1 ; בקע p. II-iv-6.

18. The inhabitants of Canaan Ex. 15:15, Jos. 2:9, of Philistia Is. 14:31; of Damascus Jer. 49:23 etc.

19. Cf. UT, 51:vii;31 quoted below, p. II-iv- 4f.

20. And possibly Hab. 3:6, Wellhausen reads וימגג for וימדד (BDB).

21. Gordon says

> Virolleaud informs me of a new tablet in which arṣ is the earth deity: arṣ w šmm š 'Earth-and-Heaven (to receive an offering of) a male head of small cattle.' (UT, §19, #376).

22. See above, p. II-ii-9.

23. "The Enemy from the North and the Chaos Tradition," *JBL*, LXXVIII (1959), p. 187.

24. *Ibid*., p. 189; as he will swallow Mot, see above, *note* 10.

25. *Cf*. Is. 40:28. אלהי עולם יהוה בורא קצות הארץ

26. Ez. 31:15, see discussion, above, p. II-ii-14f.

27. Above, p. I-ii-15.

28. ʿnt III:34f., quoted in full above, p. II-i-15.

29. Above, p. II-ii-12.

30. *I.e*. Leviathan, see above, p. II-i-8.

31. Melamed, p. 137ff. Pope translates Job 41:13, "From Leviathan's throat fires blaze, flame pours out his mouth" and notes,

> Of the god Marduk it is said, 'When he moved his lips, fire blazed forth' (ANET, p. 62, line 96). In the Ugaritic texts it is not stated that the dragon breathes fire, but among the monsters associated with the dragon that ʿAnat slew are two females, one canine in form and the other unspecified, the one called Fire and the other Flame. (p. 285)

32. *UT*, 49:ii:31f., above, p. II-iii-1

33. S. E. Loewenstamm, "The Ugaritic Fertility Myth--The Result of A Mistranslation," *IEJ*, XII (1962), p. 87. For ויזר על he assumes haplography and restores ויזרע על.

34. "The Making and Destruction of the Golden Calf," *Biblica*, XLVIII (1967), p. 485.

35. Above, *note* II-i-58.

36. This explanation of the parallel between *arš* and *ʿgl* in *ʿnt* III:40f. by no means exhausts the significance of the calf that was made in the wilderness. But the evidence that "Seth was worshipped especially in those places in Egypt which had connections with foreign countries or with the desert" (Velde, p. 116) may be relevant to that consideration. Velde explains:

> My hypothesis is: Seth did not become lord of foreign countries because in history he happened originally to be worshipped on the border of the desert, but ordering by locality required him, the mythical disturber of the peace, to be venerated on the verge of the cosmos. (p. 117)

The splitting of a calf binds two parties in covenant, as is evident from Jer. 34:18

ונתתי את האנשים... אשר לא הקימו את דברי הברית אשר
כרתי לפני העגל אשר כתרו לפנים ויעברו בין בתרין

> The men who did not keep the terms of the covenant which they made before me, I will make like the calf which they cut in two and passed between its parts.

Sarna observes,

> The peculiar Hebrew phrase 'to cut a covenant' is derived from the practice of severing animals as the seal of a treaty. This custom is widely attested in ancient times and exists among primitive peoples to this day; particularly interesting are Hittite and Greek parallels. It is generally believed that when the contracting parties passed between the severed pieces they thereby accepted the covenant obligations and invoked upon themselves the fate of the animals if the terms of the pact were violated. (*Understanding Genesis* [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966], p. 126.)

The ceremony is described in Gen. 15:9f. where Abraham is ordered to bring a heifer and a pigeon:
ויאמר אליו קחה לי עגלה משלשת ועז משלשת ואיל משלש
ותר וגוזל׃ (10) ויקח לו את כל אלה ויבתר אתם בתוך ויתן איש בתרו
לקראת רעהו את הצפר לא בתר׃ The pigeon, which the text explicitly states was _not_ cut, plays the role of Tiamat in the Babylonian New Year ritual.

> We have conclusive proof that the Ancients could symbolize [Marduk's] cutting up of Tiamat by the two wings of Pl. XVIIIk. For a commentary on the New Year ritual explains one act in the following terms: 'The pigeon which is thrown is Tiamat, It is thrown and cut into two halves.' (Ebeling, _Tod und Leben_, p. 33; Zimmern, _Zum Bab. Neujarhrsfest_, II, 49.)" (Frankfort, _Cylinder seals_, p. 103.)

37. With Dillmann, restoring the yodh lost by haplography, העשוי יגש חרבו (p. 62).

38. Or, "He is the first expression of God's power" on the basis of Ugaritic drkt, "dominion" _cf_. Pope, _Job_, p. 166f.

39. P. 66.

40. _Job_, p. 269.

41. _aklm_, _ʿqqm_, _UT_, 75:i:27f.

42. _ANET_ p. 83-85; VI:104.

43. Like Atum, see above, p. I-i-25.

44. _Cf_. נגש, parallel רהב Is. 3:5, 14:4, above, p. II-i-5.

45. See above, p. I-i-26.

46. William Hayes Ward, "Habakkuk," _Micah, Zephaniah,_

Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah and Joel (ICC, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911).

47. "The Psalm of Habakkuk," note 32.

48. Cf. the parallel curse on Mt. Hermon and Leviathan, above, p. II-i-10 and the synonymity of במות ארץ and הרים noted in Mi. 1:3-4. Behemoth's "tail" is stiff like a cedar, Job 40:17; the cedars of Lebanon are its pride, Is. 2:13 ועל כל ארזי הלבנון הרמים והנשאים ועל כל אלוני הבשן. In Ez. 31:10-13 Pharoah, as an arrogant cedar of Lebanon, is the child of Earth, nurtured by Tehom. Like the monster he will be cut down, broken, scattered, providing sustenance for bird and beast.

The Rabbis understand Ps. 50:10 בהמות בהררי אלף ("the cattle on a thousand hills are mine") to refer to Behemoth; Midrash Leviticus XXII, 10: "As a recompense for the prohibition of certain cattle you shall eat Behemoth on a thousand mountains" (parallel Leviathan), or "Behemoth is a single beast and lies on a thousand mountains."

49. Enoch 60:7f. the Angel Michael explains that

> on the day of judgment will two monsters be parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the depths of the ocean over the fountain of the waters. 8) But the male is called Behemoth, who occupies . . . a wilderness named Dendain on the east of the Garden etc. (The Book of Enoch, trans. from Dillmann's Ethiopic text, ed. R. H. Charles [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893].)

50. IV Ezra 6:51

> And thou didst give Behemoth one of the parts which had been dried up on the third day, to live in it, where there are a thousand mountains; 52) but to Leviathan thou didst give the seventh part, the watery part; and thou hast kept them to be eaten . . .

51. In *Enuma Elish* the personified male *apsu* is the mate of the personified female *ti'amatu* and this is interpreted as indicating the contrast between the sweet water and the salt water seas. This distinction, however, is secondary, as first suggested by Poebel and more fully demonstrated by Kramer. (Pope, *El*, p. 63, including references.)

52. See above, p. I-i-26.

53. *Job*, p. 275.

54. "A Study of Myth," p. 20.

55. *Ibid*., p. 24, n. 37.

56. See above, Apsu, p. II-iii-5 ; Apophis, p. I-i-19.

57. Above, p. II-i-6.

Section iv: The Monster

Now that we have demonstrated the existence of both a sea and an earth-monster in the Bible, let us consider expressions which have not been turned up by the previous method of inquiry, that imply that Yam or Ereṣ is a personality. Here we come closest to discovering the specifically Israelite form of the myth, postulated by Cassuto.[1]

One passage which unquestionably speaks of ים as a monster rather than a body of water is Job 9:8

> נטה שמים לבדו ודורך על במתי ים
>
> Who alone stretched out the heavens, and trampled the back of Yam.

Compare this with Hab. 3:15 (דרך ב):

> דרכת בים סוסך חמר מים רבים
>
> You trampled Yam with your horses, the surging of mighty waters.

The expression דרך על במתי is heavily laden with mythological connotations.[2] במה designates a feature of the land, possession of which signifies victory, dominion, אמר האויב עליכם האח ובמות עולם למורשה היתה לנו "The enemy said of you, 'Aha!' and 'the ancient heights have become our possession,'" (Ez. 36:2) but first of all it means "back," as of a (live) body.[3] When the "body" has been defeated, the victor treads on his back to demonstrate his victory. Several cylinder seals picture the king or god standing proudly with his foot on the back of his vanquished enemy.[4] Frankfort observes,

> The conqueror-god . . . appears on a number of seals armed with a multiple mace sometimes seven-headed and sometimes with a less extraordinary weapon, but almost always trampling under foot a crouching human victim.[5]

The Sun-god, most commonly pictured on Sargonid seals at the moment of his rising,

> is characterised by rays issuing from his shoulders, by a saw with which, as supreme judge, he "cuts decisions" and by his attitude with one foot upon a mountain.[6]

The pictures are an abstraction, a condensation into symbol of the complex notion of the exercise of power by one person or group over another. Besides the passages mentioned above, the expression דרך על is found only in Ps. 91:13[7]; על שחל ופתן תדרך תרמס כפיר ותנין and I Sam. 5:5 לא ידרכו כהני דגון . . . על מפתן דגון

> the priests of Dagon do not tread . . . on the threshold of Dagon.

The word מפתן, "threshold," is derived from the same root as פתן, "serpent," for which the meaning "project" is suggested.[8] The evil serpent who guards the boundary is represented by Apophis, and Vritra, "the serpent lying on the mountain,"[9] but the benevolent aspect of the serpentine guardians of the household is also familiar from Greek tradition,[10] and the snake-goddess figurines found all over the Near East. Without pursuing further the symbolism of the snake, I wish only to bring to mind his ambiguous nature, so that we may consider the possibility that the expression דרך על always has reference, directly or indirectly, to the myth of God's victory over the monster.[11] The graphic image of the god trampling his enemy under foot expresses a political idea.[12]

The expression דרך ב is found in several passages in connection with the assignment of territory, for example,

כל המקום אשר תדרך כף רגלכם בו לכם יהיה

> Every place on which the sole of your foot treads shall be yours.[13] (Dt. 11:24)

Here again the literal and figurative meanings coalesce; Mi. 5:4 אשור כי יבוא בארצנו וכי ידרך בארמנותינו might be translated, "When the Assyrian comes against our land and takes possession of our strongholds" (rather than "treads upon our soil," RSV); but the myth is not implied. Hab. 3:15 is inconsistent with this usage, having דרך בים where one would expect (from Job 9:8 and Hab. 3:19) דרך על במותי ים. An explanation may be found in a comparison with Ps. 77:20

בים דרכך ושביליך במים רבים ועקבותיך לא נדעו

> Thy way was through the sea, thy path through the great waters; yet thy footprints were unseen.

Dahood calls this "a demythologized allusion to the Canaanite sea-god Yamm."[14] A relationship between Hab. 3:8-15 and Ps. 77:17-20 has long been recognized; Albright concludes on the basis of the meter that Ps. 77 is earlier. Habakkuk inadvertently follows the Psalm in avoiding the mythic expression דרך על.[15]

Variants of the expression include משל בגאות הים (Ps. 89-10);[16] ועל במותי יעמדני (II Sam. 22:34); the king of Babylon expresses his ambition to universal rule in his intention to go up on the backs of the clouds עלה על במותי עב (Is. 14:14) like Baal, rkb ʿrpt, the "rider of clouds." In Dt. 32:13 ירכבהו על במותי ארץ and Is. 58:14 הרכבתיך על במותי ארץ Yahweh promises universal sovereignty to Jacob. Usually רכב על is followed by the means of transportation (מרכב, סוס חמור etc.), but in these two cases of the Hiph'il, perhaps influenced by the usage of דרך על, the object is the enemy who is subjected.

The criteria of personality are somewhat harder to establish for Ereṣ than they were for Yam, because the earth is by nature "a body" in a way that the sea is not.[17] The profound significance of this distinction can only be suggested by the direction of this thesis as a whole.[18]

The identities of arṣ and Mot merge in the Ugaritic myth so that it is not meaningful to distinguish between "heights" and "backs": UT, 51:vii:25f. Having forbidden the architects to put a window in his palace, Baal went on a campaign to establish his dominion. When he returned,

yptḥ ḫln bbhtm	he opened a window in the mansion,
urb̀t́ bqrb hklm	a lattice in the midst of the palace . . .
qlh qdš b[ʿl y]tn	Then Baal uttered his holy voice . . .
. . . . . .	
[tr] arṣ	The earth quaked
. . . [ǵrm aḫšn	The rocks were dismayed
rtqt[. . . .	perturbed

qdm ym bmt a[r]ṣ ṭṭtn.	East and West the heights of the earth rocked.

The foes of Baal-Hadad flee, as Baal taunts them.

Returning to the palace, he says, "Shall (anyone),

u mlk u bl mlk	whether king or no king,
arṣ drkt yštkn	set up dominion for himself upon earth?
dll al elak	I will send a guide
. . . .	. . . .
yqra mt	that he may summon Mot
bnpšh ystrn ydd ⟨el⟩	to his grave (and) conceal the loved of El
bgngnh aḥdy d ymlk	in his tomb. I alone (am he) that shall
ʿl elm	be king over the gods.

Though bmt is here "heights" as it is in Ezek. 36:2, and the event described is an earthquake, the close association with the pronouncement of Baal's dominion on earth" and the fact that Mot is summoned to confirm it suggests that Mot and the earth are one. Baal, "prince, lord of earth" (zbl bʿl arṣ, UT, 49:vi:10) had demonstrated his sovereignty over the province of Death. The eschatological vision of Is. 24:18f. is very close to UT, 51:vii:25f. both in language and significance:

> ארבות ממרום נפתחו וירעשו מוסדי ארץ: (19) רעה התרעעה הארץ
> פור התפוררה ארץ מוט התמוטטה ארץ: (20) נוע תנוע ארץ כשכור
> והתנודדה כמלונה וכבד עליה פשעה ונפלה ולא תסיף קום
>
> The windows of heaven are opened and the foundations of the earth tremble. 19) The earth is utterly broken, the earth is rent assunder,[19] the earth is violently shaken. 20) The earth staggers like a drunken man, it sways like a hut; its transgression lies heavy upon it, and it falls and will not rise again.

The breaking open of the earth is expressed in a way that more clearly evokes the image of a body by the verb

בקע, for instance Hab. 3:9 נהרות תבקע ארץ "you cleaved the earth (with) rivers." The earth is split open, releasing water which collects in the valleys (בקעות) thus formed. This may be an apocopated expression of the idea that rivers flow with blood from the cut veins of Tiamat.[20]

The most frequent idea expressed by the verb בקע in the Old Testament is to rip open a body,[21] or a city.[22] In Ugaritic it is said that Anat seized Mot and ripped him open with a sword;[23] Dan'l rips open the livers of eagles looking for the remains of his son Aqhat.[24] Though the use of this verb in reference to the earth need not imply personality, the suggestion that it does is supported by the fact that the same verb is used to describe God's action against the sea. In this case, the corporeal connotation implies that the sea is regarded as a monster. When the same language that gives sea body is used of the earth, the image of the inimical primeval earth-mound is evoked. בקע conveys the mythic notion expressed in UT, 49:ii:31.

The result of the action is in almost every case the release of water:

> ויבקע אלהים את המכתש אשר בלחי ויצאו ממנו מים
>
> And God split open the hollow place that is at Lehi, and there came water from it. (Ju. 15:19)
>
> יבקע צרים במדבר וישק כתהמות רבה: (16) ויוצא נזלים
> מסלע ויורד כנהרות מים
>
> He split the rock in the wilderness, and watered the vast waste land itself.[25] 16) He made streams come out of the rock, and caused waters to flow down like rivers. (Ps. 78:15)

> ויבקע צור ויזבו מים
>
> He cleft the rock [in the wilderness wandering] and the water gushed out. (Is. 48:21)
>
> ... ונבקע הר הזיתים מחצין מזרחה וימה ... 8) והיה ביום ההוא יצאו מים חיים מירושלם חצים אל הים הקדמוני וחצים אל הים האחרון ...
>
> the Mount of Olives shall be split in two from east to west . . . 8) On that day living waters shall flow out of Jerusalem, half of them to the eastern sea and half of them to the western sea. (Za. 14:4-8)

Even Job 28:10f., a reference to mining, mentions the streams that are released.

> בצורות יארים בקע ... מבכי נהרות חבש
>
> He cuts out channels in the rocks . . . He binds the streams so that they do not trickle.

The splitting of the earth after the rebellion of Korah (Nu. 16:31) does not coincide with God's victory over the withholding monster, but with the earth swallowing. However, in this case the earth swallows by God's command.

In his discussion of Ps. 18, Gunkel regards the combination of storm theophany and the theme of the rescue of the drowning as artificial.[26] He says two types of material must be distinguished, the conflict with the sea, and the appearance of the Lord in the storm, as at Sinai, accompanied by thunder, earthquake, wind and fire, which has nothing to do with the primeval battle. However: If the earth has mythological significance as the enemy of God, then the act of splitting it open and trampling upon its back has a soteriological significance comparable to the smiting of Rahab, etc.

which provides a fit introduction to the creation of Israel by covenant. The thunder and lightning which split the rocks (I Ki. 19:11) are the blasting of the inimical earth-mound to release the elements necessary for order. The darkness, originally significant of the power of death, now accompanies the god of light, who strikes in fire.[27]

The verb בקע is also used to describe God's action against the sea and compels us to regard that sea as a body much in the same way that the expression דרך על במותי ים did:

> ואתה הרם את מטך ונטה את ידך על הים ובקעהו ויבאו בני
> ישראל בתוך הים ביבשה
>
> **Lift up your rod, and stretch out your hand over the sea and divide it, that the people of Israel may go on dry ground through the sea. (Ex. 14:16)**
>
> ויט משה את ידו על הים ויולך יהוה את הים ברוח קדים עזה כל הלילה
> וישם את הים לחרבה ויבקעו המים:
>
> **Then Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the Lord drove the sea back by a strong east wind all night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. (Ex. 14:21)**
>
> והים בקעת לפניהם ויעברו בתוך הים ביבשה ואת רדפיהם
> השלכת במצולת כמו אבן במים עזים:
>
> **And you divided the sea before them, so that they went through the midst of the sea on dry land; and you cast their pursuers into the depths, as a stone into mighty waters. (Ne. 9:11)**
>
> בוקע מים מפניהם לעשות לו שם עולם
>
> **Who divided the waters before them to make for himself an everlasting name. (Is. 63:12b)**
>
> בקע ים ויעבירם ויצב מים כמו נד:
>
> **He divided the sea and let them pass through it, and made the waters stand like a heap. (Ps. 78:13)**
>
> אתה בקעת מעין ונחל אתה הובשת נהרות איתן:
>
> **You cleaved open springs and brooks; dried up ever-flowing streams. (Ps. 74:15)**

It will be noticed that, with the exception of Ps. 74:15, the use of this verb with the object, water, is peculiar to the account of crossing the Reed Sea. Cross and Freedman have concluded that the Song of Miriam (Ex. 15) is the oldest of the extant sources for the Exodus event. In this poem, "the sea is never personified and is the 'passive' tool of Yahweh responding to his bidding."[28] In fact, in v. 12 it is the earth that swallows Pharaoh, נטית ימינך תבלעמו ארץ "You stretched out your right hand, the earth swallowed them." Cross notes, " ארץ is here personified and is to be interpreted as the (under)world receiving the dead."[29] The earth that had been God's enemy now does his work; the role of the enemy is taken over by the sea, which inherits the language of the earth-monster myth with the role. The Reed Sea is the monster which is divided into parts and so ordered, its power broken; it is the symbol of the oppressive tyrant who had to be split open that Israel might be born.[30] Compare vs. 15 and 13 of Ps. 78: the rock is split, water bursts forth; the sea is split, and Israel passes through. The verb as it is used in Is. 35:6

כי נבקעו במדבר מים ונחלים בערבה

> Waters shall break forth in the wilderness, and streams in the desert

signifies two actions that have through association become one: the earth is split, and water is released.

This may be the case also with Ps. 74:15: "You split open the earth, releasing springs and brooks. On the other hand, you controlled the flood." Both the power to release and the power to restrain water is celebrated, side by side (as in Ps. 78) in praise of God's order.

The result of splitting the waters is the appearance of dry land.[31] As a body dies when it is burst open, so the sea dies, and this, translated into terms appropriate to water, means that it is dried up. To speak of water being dried up is different from saying that it is bound, or confined. It is a translation of the mythical action of killing or annihilating the tyrant: וישם את הים לחרבה(Ex. 14:21). He is made nothing; he becomes a non-person.[32] The passages which follow may not be specifically associated with the Reed Sea, but they are descriptive (if we allow for the translation, which is itself anti-mythological) of the destruction of the monster:

> אנכי יהוה עשה כל... האמר לצולה חרבי ונהרתיך אוביש
>
> I am the Lord, who made all things . . . who says to the deep, 'Be dry, I will dry up your rivers. (Is. 44:24-27)
>
> הן בגערתי אחריב ים אשים נהרות מדבר תבאש דגתם מאין מים ותמת בצמא
>
> Behold, by my rebuke[33] I dry up the sea, I make the rivers a desert; their fish stink for lack of water, and die of thirst. (Is. 50:2b)
>
> גוער בים ויבשהו וכל הנהרות החריב
>
> He rebukes the sea and makes it dry, he dries up all the rivers. (Na. 1:4)

and see Job 14:11.[34]

If the sea is a monster that must be split open to release life, then is he not a devourer? One would expect that his destructive activity would also be expressed in terms appropriate to the monster of the first type defined in chapter one.[35] And in fact, there is one passage in which fear of the swallowing waters is expressed:

> אל תשטפני שבלת מים אל תבלעני מצולה ואל תאטר עלי באר פיה ;
>
> Let not the flood sweep over me, or the deep swallow me up, or the pit close its mouth over me. (Ps. 69:16)

Generally, though, the mythical action of devouring is translated by verbs which more particularly describe the destructive action of the sea, which threatens to surround, overwhelm, engulf. RSV translates Ps. 104:6

> תהום כלבוש כסיתו על הרים יעמדו מים
>
> Thou didst cover it with the deep as with a garment; the waters stood above the mountains,

taking "it" (m.) to refer to ארץ which is clearly feminine in v. 5 (יסד ארץ על מכוניה). It is possible to read תהום as a casus pendens, "As for Tehom, you covered it as with a garment; [which is to say that] the waters stood above the mountains,"[36] and so to avoid the grammatical difficulty presented by כסיתו. No alternative is free of difficulties, but the next verse, מן גערתך ינוסון מן קול רעמך יחפזון "At your rebuke they fled; at the sound of your thunder they took to flight," suggests that the waters covered the earth against God's will. The tehom covered the Egyptians,

> תהמות יכסימו ירדו במצולת כמו אבן
>
> The floods cover them; they went down into the depths like a stone. (Ex. 15:5)
>
> נשפת ברוחך כסמו ים
>
> You blew with your wind, the sea covered them. (v. 10)

It will cover Tyre,

> בהעלות עליך את תהום וכסוך המים הרבים והורדתיך את יורדי
> בור אל עם עולם והושבתיך כארץ תחתיות...
>
> When I bring up the deep over you, and the great waters cover you, 20) then I will thrust you down with those who descend into the Pit, to the people of old. (Ez. 26:19)

Babylon is covered with the waves of the sea,

> עלה אל בבל הים בהמון גליו נכסתה
>
> The sea has come up on Babylon; she is covered with its tumultuous waves. (Jer. 51:42)

In these three cases, the waters are God's instrument to punish "the monster" by his own means: Babylon will be swallowed, as it swallowed (v. 34).

> מצרים כיאר יעלה וכנהרות יתגעשו מים ויאמר
> אעלה אכסה ארץ אבידה עיר וישבי בה
>
> Egypt rises like the Nile, like rivers whose waters surge. He said, I will rise, I will cover the earth, I will destroy cities and their inhabitants, (Jer. 46:8)

but the sea covered the Egyptians,[37] the tyrant was tyrannized. Ps. 32:6-7 takes the figure one step further:

> שטף מים רבים אליו [כל חסיד] לא יגיעו... פלט תסובבני
>
> The rush of great waters shall not reach the godly man . . . you encompass me with deliverance.

The encompasser is neither evil, nor evil instructed by good, but good itself. Activity ordinarily associated with the monster, when it is performed by God, manifests his goodness. This idea is expressed also in Is. 10:22,

כליון חרוץ שוטף צדקה

> Destruction is decreed, overflowing with righteousness.

Sometimes Israel is threatened, but the righteous have nothing to fear:

כי תעבר במים אתך אני ובנהרות לא ישטפוך

> When you pass through the waters I will be with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you. (Is. 43:2)

ויען כי מאס העם הזה את מי השלח ההלכים לאט...7) ולכן
הנה אדני מעלה עליהם את מי הנהר העצומים והרבים את מלך
אשור...ועלה על כל אפיקיו והלך על כל גדותיו: 8) וחלף ביהודה
שטף ועבר עד צואר יגיע...

> Because this people have refused the waters of Shiloah that flow gently, . . . 3) Therefore, behold, the Lord is bringing up against them the waters of the River, mighty and many, the king of Assyria; . . . And it will rise over all its channels and go over all its banks; 8) and it will sweep on into Judah, it will overflow and pass on, reaching even to the neck . . . (Is. 8:6-8)

That which is above the neck, the head, that is to say "the remnant that will return" (10:21), will be kept clear of the engulfing flood.

Now we can make sense of Is. 11:9,

מלאה הארץ דעה את יהוה כמים לים מכסים

> The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea,

and the related passages, כי תמלא הארץ לדעת את כבוד יהוה כמים יכסו על ים (Hab. 2:14) and הן פרש עליו אורו ושרשי הים כסה (Job 36:30). "The waters" are distinguished from the sea as a part of the cosmos which is employed, again using its own characteristic means, to keep its monstrous self in check. Just so the earth, which has a past history of withholding what it contains, will be filled with the knowledge of the Lord which defeats monsters![38] It is a powerful way to express the idea of a permanent solution to the struggle, a self-perpetuating order.

The equivalence of the engulfing flood to the devouring enemy is clear from Ps. 124:2f

לולי יהוה שהיה לנו בקום עלינו אדם: 3) אזי חיים בלעונו
. . 4) אזי המים שטפונו . . .

> If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us, 3) then they would have swallowed us up alive; . . . 4) Then the flood would have swept us away

and of the waters to the pit, Sheol, the netherworld, from Ez. 26:19.[39] For Jonah also the encompassing waters turn out to be the pit, "the land whose bars closed upon me forever":

אפפוני מים עד נפש תהום יסבבני סוף חבוש לראשי:
ז) לקצבי הרים ירדתי הארץ בריחיה בעדי לעולם . . .

> The waters closed in over me, the deep was round about me; weeds wrapped about my head. 7) At the edges[40] of the mountains, I went down to the underworld whose bars closed upon me forever; (Jon. 2:6f.)

and for the Psalmist,

שתני בבור תחתיות במחשכים במצלות: 8) עלי
סמכה חמתך וכל משבריך ענית

> You have put me in the depths of the Pit, in the regions dark and deep. 8) Your wrath lies heavy upon me, and you overwhelm me with all your waves. (Ps. 88:7f.)

What has happened to the separator?[41] What is left to express the "horror of dissipation"[42] if the sea, like the earth, is a devourer that must be split open? My contention is that the connotation of dissipating energy is never absent from the idea of the sea and constitutes its chief value as a symbol. Conquest of the sea seen in this light would be expressed in terms of its confinement or regulation. There is no lack of data to demonstrate the motif of the sea's capture in the Bible. Before discussing the more obvious examples, though I would like to consider the use of the verb גער (ב).

The expression ויגער בים ויחרב(יבש) is found three times and should qualify as a formula in Israel's epic repetoire:[43]

> הן בגערתי אחריב ים אשים נהרות מדבר תבאש
> דגתם מאין מים ותמת בצמא ;
> (Is. 50:2, translated above, p. 10)

> ויגער בים סוף ויחרב ויוליכם בתהמות כמדבר
> He rebuked the Reed Sea and it became dry; and
> he led them through the deep as through a desert.
> (Ps. 106:9)

> גוער בים ויבשהו וכל הנהרות החריב
> (Na. 1:4, translated above, p. 10)

What does גער mean in this context? It has been said above that "God dries the sea" is a translation of "God kills the monster" but גער though parallel to חרב does not mean "kill." Usually translated "rebuke," it connotes scolding, ועזבתם ולקטה ולא תגערו בה "'Leave them for her to glean, and do not rebuke her.'" (Ru. 2:16) Jacob rebukes Joseph for telling his dream, ויספר אל אביו ואל אחיו ויגער בו אביו "But when he told it to his father and his brothers, his father rebuked him." (Gen. 37:10)[44] In two places where it is found in the Ugaritic texts this is the sense implied. Baal scolds the gods for bowing to Yam,[45] Astarte scolds Baal for too much zeal in punishing Yam,[46] as Yahweh rebukes Satan for too much zeal in accusing Joshua, ויאמר יהוה אל השטן יגער יהוה בך השטן ...הלוא זה אוד מצל מאש "And the Lord said to Satan, 'The Lord rebuke you, O Satan! . . . Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?'" (Za. 3:2) However, as expressive of the anger of God[47] it appears to be an act of destruction or repression performed verbally, like a curse. Twice more (Ps. 18:16 and 104:7) water is the object of גער; once only (Ps. 68:31) is it found with any other monster-representative. My conjecture is that in Ps. 68 (which is full of Canaanisms) it has the meaning it has in Ugaritic but that it came to have specialized use in Israel in the sea-enemy tradition in which "killed devourer" is equivalent to "captured dissipator,"[48] and means "cast a paralyzing spell upon."[49] Precedents are found in Enuma Elish: As Ea confronts Apsu with a holy incantation that puts Apsu to sleep (EE I:62) and Tiamat, in vain, "recites an incantation, repeatedly casting her spell" (EE IV:91), so מגערתך אלקי יעקב נרדם ורכב וסוס; "At thy rebuke, O God of Jacob, both rider and horse lay stunned." (Ps. 76:7) גערת גוים אבדת רשע "You have rebuked the nations, you have destroyed the wicked."[50] (Ps. 9:6) גערת זדים ארורים "You rebuke the insolent, accursed ones."[51] (Ps. 119:21) Isn't the the ארר of Job 3:8 יקבהו אררי יום [ים] העתידים ערר לויתן "Let those curse it who curse Yam,[52] who are skilled to rouse up Leviathan," (Job 3:8) which Gunkel interprets as the opposite of ערר?[53] Yahweh's superior force of mind[54] is manifest in his ability to effectively destroy by magic formula, as he effectively creates by word.[55]

What God says to the monster renders him impotent,[56] which is equivalent in the case of the sea, to drying it up. The breath of the Lord which had caused it to "stand in a heap," וברוח אפיך נערמו מים "At the blast of your nostrils the waters piled up" (Ex. 15:8) and confined it in a sack, ברוחו שם ים שפרה "By his wind he bagged Yam"[57] (Job 26:13) lays bare the floor of the sea:

> ויראו אפקי ים יגלו מוסדות תבל בגערת יהוה מנשמת רוח אפו:
>
> Then the channels of the sea were seen, the foundations of the world were laid bare, at the rebuke of the Lord, at the blast of the breath of his nostrils. (II Sam. 22:16)

One eschatological image of the destruction of the nations adds to this, to complete the image, the element of fire:

> כי הנה יהוה באש יבוא וכסופה מרכבתיו להשיב
> בחמה אפו וגערתו בלהבי אש:
>
> For behold, the Lord will come in fire, and his chariots like the stormwind, to render his anger in fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire. (Is. 66:15)

Or, the waters shrink back,

נס,

... על הרים יעמדו מים:

ז)מן גערתך ינוסון (Ps. 104:6f., translated above, p. 11)

like an army retreating in the face of the psychological advantage of the opponent's will to win, evident in his curse:

> לאמים כשאון מים רבים ישאון וגער בו ונס ממרחק
> ורדף כמץ הרים לפני רוח וכגלגל לפני סופה
>
> The nations roar like the roaring of many waters, but he will rebuke them, and they will flee far away, chased like chaff on the mountains before the wind and whirling dust before the storm. (Is. 17:13)

The Confinement of the Sea

One of the ways of dealing with the conquered monster is to establish a boundary to his legitimate sphere of activity, to give him a place of his own, and thereby incorporate him in the cosmos.[58] This theme is a part of the Leviathan myth as the post-biblical writers knew it:

> The waters were told to gather together (Gen. 1:9) but they didn't know where, so they went up and down, Ps. 104:7f. . . . So God trampled upon the ocean and slew it, because they were to go to the place of Leviathan. . . . Ps. 104:8 refers to this place v. 26 זה.[59] (Midrash Ex. R. XV, 22)

Ps. 104:9 and Jer. 5:22 speak of this boundary as a geographical feature:

> גבול שמת בל יעברון בל ישובון לכסות הארץ
>
> You set a bound which they should not pass, so that [the waters] might not again cover the earth. (Ps. 104:9)

> שמתי חול גבול לים חק עולם ולא יעברנהו..
>
> I placed the sand as the bound for the sea, a perpetual barrier which it cannot pass; (Jer. 5:22)

This passage explains the synonymity of גבול and חק. The Job and Proverbs passages (below) are related by the word חק which expresses the legal nature of this barrier. It is fundamental to the order of the cosmos, as established by God in the beginning:[60]

> בשומו לים חקו ומים לא יעברו פיו בחוקו מוסדי ארץ
>
> When he assigned to the sea its limit, so that the waters might not transgress his command, when he marked out the foundations of the earth, (Pr. 8:29)
>
> ויסך בדלתים ים בגיחו מרחם יצא: 9) בשומי ענן לבשו וערפל חתלתו:
> 10) ואשבר עליו חקי ואשים בריח ודלתים: 11) ואמר עד פה תבוא
> ולא תסיף ופא ישית בגאון גליך:
>
> Or who shut in the sea with doors, when it burst forth from the womb; when I made clouds its garment, and thick darkness its swaddling band, 10) and prescribed bounds for it, and set bars and doors, 11) and said, "Thus far shall you come, and no farther, and here shall your proud waves be stayed?" (Job 38:8-11)
>
> בהכינו שמים שם אני בחוקו חוג על פני תהום
>
> When he established the heavens, I was there, when he drew a circle on the face of the deep, (Pr. 8:27)
>
> חק חג על פני מים עד תכלית אור עם חשך
>
> He has inscribed a circle upon the face of the waters at the boundary between light and darkness. (Job 26:10)

The inscribed circle (בחוקו חוג) of Pr. 8:27 is the line of the horizon, which is an appropriate symbol from the natural world of a metaphysical reality encompassing the cosmos. This is the line which separates the inhabited world from the waters which surround it. These waters are symbolized by Leviathan, "the encircler."[61] Job 26:10 makes clear that what we are talking about is that very boundary that was said by the Egyptians to be guarded by Apophis, who threatens to prevent the sun from rising and setting in an orderly way.[62] The doors of Job 38:10[63] are then the gates through which the sun rises and sets, and the dead pass to Sheol.[64] The bars[65] are familiar from the Tiamat story.[66] As precautions must be taken against the sea bursting its bonds, so Sheol פערה פיה לבלי חק "opened its mouth beyond measure" (Is. 5:14). One suspects that the line that marks the sea's limit is the same that marks the foundations of the earth, Pr. 8:29.[67] The sea wishes to flow over and so equalize the tension, while Sheol wishes to suck into itself all that is on the other side, to the same effect. What will happen ביום ההוא however,

> יום ההוא ירחק חק
> In that day the boundary shall be far extended
> (Mi. 7:11)

is that the line will be extended in all directions against Yam-Sheol. The passage speaks of enlarging Israel's territory, but the use of חק in this sense (and perhaps the parallel ים - נהר, next verse), suggests the boundary of the created order as distinguished from the realm of chaos East of the east mountains and West of the west mountains.

Summary

The distinction that was made between the sea-beast (section i) and the land-beast (section iii) was hard to keep clear; we saw (section ii) a nahash in the water

(Am. 9:3) and tehom (once a water monster) as a mountain (Ps. 46:3, cf. Ex. 15:8).[68] The suspicion that one monster-concept underlies both is confirmed by the fact that earth and sea share vocabulary that expresses the key concepts of the myth (section iv). For instance:

1) The tyrant-monster swallows (בלע): said of Ereṣ (Ex. 15:12), the tannin (Jer. 51:34), and the deep (מצולה Ps. 69:16). The idea, which I have called "withholding" in chapter one, is expressed also by כסה ; usually said of the sea (Ex. 15:10), but also of the earth (Nu. 16:33).
2) He is cursed (ארר): said of Yam (Job 3:8), Leviathan (Job 41:1, see p. II-i-10), and the Serpent in the Garden (Gen. 3:14). The idea, the power of the word to exorcize evil, is expressed also by גער; usually said of the sea (Is. 50:2), but once of the earth-beast (Ps. 68:31).
3) He is trampled upon (דרך על במות): said of Yam (Job 9:8) and of Ereṣ (Am. 4:13).
   The idea: political rebels are suppressed.
4) He is killed: said in various ways (smitten, pierced, smashed) of all.
   The idea that the monster is split open is expressed also by בקע ; usually said of the earth (Hab. 3:9), but also of the Reed Sea (Ez. 14:16).
   And the pieces of his body are scattered for food: said of Leviathan (Ps. 74:14), the tannin (Ez. 29:5) and Mot (UT, 49:ii:35, cf. Ex. 32:20).

5) He is confined: said in various ways of Leviathan, the tannin, Yam.

The idea of his continued existence is expressed also by חק. Though apparently opposite, 4) and 5) express the same thing: If the sea as a symbol conveys the threat of dissipation better, then confinement is more expressive of victory over it. The sea is bound, or, a boundary separates chaos from cosmos. The earth conveys better the threat of withholding, and so splitting it open is an appropriate treatment, which in bodily terms, would mean death. The equivalence of these symbols can be expressed in cultural terms: to make things out of the earth man invades it (agriculture, mining), whereas the productive possibilities of water are realizable wherever it is confined.

The Monster

Earth	Sea
Everything inside	Everything outside
Must be split	Must be contained
←Killed	Captured→

The question was raised earlier,[69] why, if the myth of a battle with the monster of the earth serves the same function as the myth of a battle with the monster of the sea,[70] does the sea-monster myth predominate in the Bible? We have made a few preliminary suggestions. The point was made that the captured (wet) monster differs from the killed (dry) one in that he maintains his identity in a new role.[71] This was interpreted as expressing an awareness of a continuity of force underlying both destructive and constructive experiences.[72] It was suggested that the fears which the myth works to alleviate are more adequately encompassed by the image of the sea as a body than they could be by the earth, and that this may reflect a social order in which the opposite tensions of male and female are more adequately balanced.[73] To these two explanations we may now add a third that is specific to Israel. As Cross noted, the Reed Sea episode gained importance through its association with the myth of God's conquest of the sea-monster.[74] Once this association was made, however, the importance to Israel's faith of God's victory at the Reed Sea at the beginning of her history would tend to increase the symbolic load of "the sea" at the expense of the mythic value of "the earth."

As we have seen in chapter one and have noted from time to time in this chapter,[75] the conception of the victor is colored by the conception of the enemy. Corresponding to the two definitions of the monster, there are two ways of conceiving of God that have a strong tradition in biblical poetry. He is "the fountain of living waters,"[76] the life-giving force rather than the destructive floods, and "the rock of our salvation,"[77] the security of solid ground rather than its rigid, unyielding closedness. As the enemy is most often described through the figure of the sea, so God is called a rock thirty-three times,[78] showing a tendency to conceive of the two as complimentary in terms of the wet-dry dichotomy. But stronger than that tendency is the fundamental distinction between victor and vanquished, expressed in biblical poetry, which is based on the principle of law. The monster is by definition irregular, irrational, erratic, lacking positive intention. God differs from the monster in one respect that is never excepted, and that is that he (who _is_ the law) _regulates_ the exercise of his powers. The reality that is God is by definition intended, and legal.

Notes to Section iv of Chapter II

1. Umberto Cassuto, "The Epic Poetry of Israel," Kenesseth, VIII (1943-44), p. 121-142. In this work,

> Cassuto established . . . that a popular and independent epic existed in Ancient Israel in which the struggle between God and the mutinous forces of primeval chaos was inextricably interwoven with the Hebrew ideal of creation. (Nahum Sarna, "The Psalm for the Sabbath Day (Ps. 92)," JBL, LXXXI [1962], p. 162.)

2. דרך על במותי Found also in Am. 4:13 and Mi. 1:3, במותי ארץ ; Dt. 33:29 (איביך) במותימו ; Hab. 3:19, no object. For Hab. 3:19 יהוה אדני חילי וישם רגלי כאילות ועל במותי ידרכני Albright ("The Psalm of Habakkuk," p. 18, n. m'. supplies ים on the basis of the relation of this verse to v. 15, but see Ps. 18:34 משוה רגלי כאילות ועל במותי יעמידני

3. Albright was the first to demonstrate the equivalence of Hebrew במה and Ugaritic bmt, "back," BASOR #50, p. 15 n. 11. Cross and Freedman show that in Dt. 33:29 the word has this sense, JBL, LXXVII (1948), 196 and 210 n. 93. Gevirtz shows that it came to denote "dead body," "corpse," which meaning he accepts in Dt. 33:29. Also, in the light of col. xii 10 of the Qumran "Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness,"

> תן ידכה בעורף אויבכה ורגלכה על במותי חלל
>
> Set thy hand on the neck of thine enemies,
> and thy foot on the bodies of slain,

he translates II Sam. 1:19

הצבי ישראל על במותיך חלל

Raise up a dirge over thy bodies of slain. His justification is presented on p. 81 of Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel.

4. Heidel fig. 1, cf. fig. 8, Marduk tramples on the back of Tiamat, EE IV:104.

5. Cylinder seals, p. 166.

6. Ibid., p. 95.

7. Discussed above, p. II-i-23. But see also Ps. 8:7 תמשילהו במעשי ידיך כל שתה תחת רגליו "You have given him dominion over the work of your hands, you have put all things under his feet" including עבר ארחות ימים "Whatever passes along the paths of the sea." (See note II-i-93).

8. "Cp. As. patânu, 'protect,' whence two foll., 'serpent' as protector, and 'threshold' as asylum." (BDB)

9. R.V. I, 32, 2; see above, p. I-iii-1.

10. See note I-iii-25 (the resolution of the Oresteia).

11. The suggestion was made (p. II-i- 24,28,) that the expression, called to mind by the mention of פתן and תנין, is used "incorrectly," that is, without awareness of its mythic connotation, in Ps. 91:13.

12. The sense of Ugaritic drkt "dominion" is preserved in a number of biblical passages, where the noun דרך does not mean "way," Ps. 18:31, 67:3, 77:14,

90:16, 138:5; (see Dahood, Psalms I, p. 2 for bibliography). Pope translates Job 26:14 "These are but bits of his power," and see Dahood, Biblica, XXXVIII (1957), p. 306f. for this sense of דרך in Job 40:19, Pr. 8:22. However, since the verb does not appear in Ugaritic, we cannot simply assume a connection in meaning between the Ugaritic noun and the Hebrew verb.

13. See also Dt. 1:36, Jos. 14:9.

14. Psalms II, p. 233.

15. Reference to the myth is otherwise open, *e.g.* v. 8.

16. The expression משל ב implies counter-resistance; in Gen. 3:16 the pronouncement that Adam shall rule over Eve is regarded as a curse, and the natural sovereignty of man over the animals is expressed by a different root, רדה, Gen. 1:26, 28, which seems elsewhere to have the sense of "to be free," Gen. 27:40, Jer. 2:31.

17. The expression דרך על במות ים (Job 9:8) makes sense only if Yam is a monster. How can one trample the back of the sea?

18. The primary idea carried by the earth as a symbol, is body. What is monstrous about body is that it confines. It must be split open. On the other hand, anyone possessed of a body is vulnerable to dissolution. The conception of the monster symbol-

ized by the earth is feminine, in that what is felt to be monstrous is a body that is not split open. The conception symbolized by the sea is the product of a masculine imagination, expressing the horror of not being enclosed, encompassed. There is an intriguing note in the article by Lambert in support of his conclusion that Enuma Elish is a combination of disparate mythological threads. He distinguishes three Mesopotamian doctrines of creation that were current at different times. The earliest is the idea that the earth came first, and from it everything emerged (current c. 2600 B.C.); next, water, c. 2000 B.C.; and then, time, c. 1700 B.C. He does not document this assertion. Does the development Lambert refers to reflect the shift from matriarchal social organization to patriarchal? The two types of horror are recognized by Paul Ricoeur. Discussing Kierkegaard, he observes:

> The Concept of Dread evokes the two ways in which a man may lose himself: in the infinite without finiteness, or in the finite without infinity; in reality without possibility, or in imagination without the efficacy of work, marriage, profession, political activity.

But: When the sea is a monster it is talked about as though it were a body. Which is to say that: More fundamental than "masculine" or "feminine" horror is the individual's horror of dissolution--horror of body, because it is mortal. The reason why Yam is more prominent than Mot, Tiamat than Apsu, Leviathan than Behemoth, why the Enemy in The Bible is "the sea" rather than "death," is perhaps because the sea is a more adequate symbol to express both types of dread; the earth cannot symbolize dissolution.

19. See note II-i-29.

20. EE IV:131; cf. also Ez. 32:4-6.

21. Pregnant women, Am. 1:13 etc., a shoulder or hand, Ez. 29:7; a cloud holding rain, Job 26:8; water receptacles, Gen. 7:11.

22. Which is a kind of live body, Is. 7:6 etc.

23. UT, 49:ii:31 "teḫd bn elm mt bḫrb tbqʿnn."

24. I Aqht. 110, 116 etc. "ybqʿ kbdthm."

25. Dahood's translation. He takes the כִּ as emphatic, תְהמות as the (f. sg.) direct object of ויּשק, parallel to מדבר. The fact that many manuscripts have בתְהמות (BH) supports the reading of a parallel. He points out that "for the desert Arabs, tīhāmatu denotes 'sandy desert' cf. also Ar. baḥr, 'ocean,' and feminine baḥratu, 'country, region.'" (Psalms II, p. 240) To this may be added the evidence of the parallels between Ez. 15:8 תהמות בלב ים and Ps. 46:3 הרים בלב ימים, Job 38:16 בחקר תהום and Ps. 95:4 מחקרי ארץ to show that תהמות can mean land. I am still dubious about the significance of the כִּ. In Pr. 3:20

(בדעתו תהומות נבקעו ושחקים ירעפו טל) תהמות

may be the earth-mound which is split open to release water, as the clouds release dew.

26. P. 104f.

27. See above, Zeus fights fire with fire, p. I-ii-10; and Dt. 32:22 quoted in note II-iii-10. Moses' treatment of the calf (above, p. II-iii-6f.) parallels God's treatment of the earth. In both cases the act is a demonstration of sovereignty.

28. F. M. Cross, Jr. and D. N. Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," JNES, XIV (1955), p. 239.

29. Ibid., p. 247, n. 39.

30.

> As a matter of fact, the earliest sources do not equate the crossing of the sea and the killing of the Dragon by the Divine Warrior, but it is highly likely that the role of the sea in the Exodus story was singled out and stressed precisely because of the ubiquitous motif of the cosmogonic battle between the creator god and Sea in West Semitic mythology. (Cross, "The Divine Warrior," p. 16.)

31. See passages quoted above.

32. See again Is. 51:9, above, p. II-ii-17f. It is significant that in the apocalyptic visions recorded in the Book of Revelations, the Testament of Levi and the Assumption of Moses, it is said that the waters which had been pushed back at the time of creation will, in the Day of Judgment, be utterly dried up. Rev. 21:1 "There will be no more sea," just as the monster will once and for all be slain, Is. 27:1.

33. גער will be discussed below, p. II-iv-15.

34. Discussed above, note II-ii-40.

35. P. I-ii-18.

36. This reading should be added to the evidence that tehom is not necessarily watery. See discussion p. II-ii- 8f. and note 25, above.

37. Ex. 15:5; cf. 14:28, Jos. 24:7, Ps. 78:53, 106:11.

38. Cf. Job 26:13, Pr. 3:20.

39. Quoted above, p. II-iv-12.

40. Dahood, Psalms II, p. 258.

41. P. I-ii-18.

42. See note 18, above.

43. Gunkel had already recognized it as a technical term, pp. 68 and 98, before Cassuto.

44. See also Jer. 29:27, Pr. 13:1, Ec. 7:5.

45. UT, 137:24 "ygʿr bʿl lm ǵltm elm reš km lẓr brktkm."

46. UT, 68:28 "bšm tgʿrm ʿŧtrt bŧ l aleyn [bʿl]."

47. Parallel חמת Is. 51:20, קצף 54:9, אף 66:15.

48. See above, p. I-iii-9f.

49. Translation suggested by Mr. Sarna.

50. Cf. Ps. 80:17.

51. Cf. Dt. 28:20 and Mal. 2:3.

52. See note II-i-32.

53. Above, p. II-i-10.

54. See above, note 38.

55. Genesis 1.

56. The Prayer of Manasseh begins:

> O Lord . . . who hast made heaven and earth with all their order; 3) who hast shackled the sea by thy word of command, who hast confined the deep and sealed it with thy terrible and glorious name; 4) at whom all things shudder, and tremble before thy power, . . .

57. See note II-i-9.

58. The settlement of the Eumenides, note I-iii-25; of Kaliya, p. I-i-14.

59. The gathering of the waters into one place (Gen. 1:9 ויאמר אלהים יקוו המים מתחת השמים אל מקום אחד (יעלו הרים ירדו בקעות אל מקום זה יסדת להם Ps.104:8 as the Rabbis saw, is a result of God's conquest of the monster, and the idea is expressive of his conquering power at the Reed Sea in Ex. 15:8 and Ps. 78:13 (ויצב מים כמו נד). Ps. 33:7 is not included here on the strength of Dahood's argument that כנד means "pitcher" above, note II-ii-64.)

60. See Pr. 8:22f., cf. Ps. 148:6

> the sun, moon, "stars of light" [כוכבי אור], highest heavens and waters above the heavens [שמי השמים והמים אשר מעל השמים] praise the name of the Lord. For he commanded and they were created, he established them forever, חק נתן ולא יעבור.

61. Nachträglich bemerke ich, dass die so erschlossene Vorstellung vom Leviathan, der die ganze Erde "umkränzt," noch in der späteren Literatur festgehalten ist. Nach den Vocab Aeth sind "Behemoth und Leviathan Schlangen (Ungeheuer) am Ufer des Oceans, umkreisen die Erde wie ein Ring" (aus Goldschmidt Henoch 83); und Raschi bemerke zu נחש עקלתון Jes. 27:1, "dass dieser gekrümmte Leviathan die ganze Erde umgebe" (aus

Grünbaum Beiträge ZDMG, XXXI 275). (Gunkel, p. 47, n. 1.)

62. P. I-i-17. See also EE I:61f.

63. Which the Massoretes know to point as dual, דְלָתַיִם.

64. These are represented by Aker in Egyptian iconography, the leonine Earth-dragon whose two ends are at the edges of the world, guarding the entrances of the underworld (Clark, p. 209). Cf. Za. 14:4f.; Frankfort discusses a typical seal in which the Sun-god is shown

> with one foot placed on a mountain and grasping his saw or pear-shaped mace, or both, while twin attendants throw open the gates. (Pl. XVIIIa; Cylinder seals, p. 98, italics mine.)

The gates correspond to the twin mountain peaks pictured on the same seal, which in turn correspond to the legs of Tiamat (see p. II-ii-9 and note II-ii-26, or the legs of Nut, the Egyptian sky goddess who is pictured arched over the earth, supported by her two arms and legs (ANET #542). Double doors of the type pictured in ANET #98 were apparently a common architectural feature of the Near East in the second millennium, and were assumed to have their analogue in the construction of the universe.

65. Job 38:10, Jon. 2:7 ירדתי הארץ ברחיה בערי לעולם

ירדתי הארץ ברחיה

66. EE IV:139; above, p. I-i-22f.

67. Above, cf. also Ps. 74:17

68. And see note 25, above.

69. P. II-iii-10.

70. That this is so is shown by the extent to which the two are combined and confused with each other.

71. P. I-iii-9.

72. *Ibid*.

73. *Note* 18, above.

74. *Note* 30, above.

75. See *note* II-i-86. God subsumes the power of the monster as: A water fouler, Ex. 7:19, his tannin (Aaron's rod) turns the monster (Pharaoh)'s waters to blood, p. II-i-22.

A creator of darkness, Ez. 32:7, pp. II-i-18 and II-iv-8.

A swallower, Is. 25:8, Ps. 21:10b, p. II-iii- 3, *note* II-iii-10.

An earth-shaker (רעש), Ps. 18:8, p. II-iii-5 , *note* II-iii-24.

A consuming fire, Dt. 32:22, Ps. 18:9, *cf*. *note* II-iii-31; see especially p. II-iv-7f, *note* II-iv-27.

76. Jer. 2:13, 7:13.

77. Dt. 32:15, Ps. 89:27.

78. *BDB* p. 849.

CHAPTER III

CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS ABOUT THE BATTLE WITH THE MONSTER IN CANAAN AND ISRAEL

Any attempt to clarify the issues that have dominated scholarly debate on the subject of monsters in the Old Testament and their precursors must begin with a review of Gunkel's position. Gunkel's understanding of the monster is that he, variously named Rahab, Leviathan, or Tannin, is the personification of the primeval deep,[1] ruler of the underworld characterized by darkness, water and depth.[2] Like Tiamat, he is a chaos monster whom Yahweh overcame in the beginning, before creation.[3] He once ruled the world and intimidated the gods but Yahweh opposed his tyranny.[4]

The monster is assisted in the battle by a chief helper or helpers[5] who are chased away, whereas the monster is killed and his carcass defiled.[6] The defiling of the corpse corresponds to the splitting in two of Tiamat's body,[7] which implies that the monster is dead. The desert is revived by his blood and the disintegrating flesh of his unburied body.[8]

A variant tradition speaks of the monster as still existing and capable of revolt, but kept under control by God.[9]

In Gunkel's analysis, the references to the myth of the battle between God and the dragon in the Old Testament outside of Genesis are distinguished according to whether they belong among "Die Drachentraditionen"[10] or "Die Traditionen Vom Urmeer."[11] The parallel between the monster and the sea is maintained at every point. His characteristic arrogance and claim to rule represent the agitation of the sea against the land; the destruction of the monster is paralleled by God's acts against the sea, and the variant tradition of God's dominance over the monster represents his control of the tides etc.[12]

> Alle diese Schilderungen setzen mehr oder weniger deutlich voraus, dass der Schöpfung eine Bändigung des Meeres durch Jahve vorangegangenist; und dass Jahve die Ordnung, die er damals begründet hat, noch gegenwärtig gegen das zur Rebellion aufgelegte Meer machtvoll aufrecht erhält.[13]

Gunkel does not say that creation depends on the defeat of the monster, though its consequence in time is noted,[14] and "Ein Zusammenhang mit der Weltschöpfung scheint hindurch."[15] He implies that the battle established which contestant is the creator,[16] and he notes that the body of the dead monster is creatively employed to revive the parched earth.[17]

With regard to the two fates, Gunkel suggests that the discrepancy might be explained by different conceptions of nature; either there is nothing now left of the monster, or the continuity of the present ocean with the primeval sea implies his continued existence.[18]

The context in which a description of the defeat of the monster appears in Israel is a hymn of praise in which it is given as proof of Yahweh's power, of his right to rule the world he created. The myth is reinterpreted prophetically as an allegory foretelling the destruction of foreign nations that are oppressing Israel in the present, or apocalyptically as secret knowledge of the form the end of history will take. It is also interpreted in terms of the historical past (the Exodus), bringing together the history of the creation of the world and of the creation of Israel. Least interesting is its significance in terms of the weather.[19]

To sum up Gunkel's conclusions: There is one monster, variously named, who may have assistants, who is associated with the sea. There are two variants of the story that are distinguishable on the basis of the fate of the monster. The result of the battle is the establishment of Yahweh's sovereignty, which is symbolized by his control of the sea.

Discovery of the Ugaritic texts revived interest in Gunkel's analysis, especially because the Canaanite myth about Baal's battle with Yam provides the missing link between the Babylonian myths about a monster and Israel's myth about the sea.

> Der Chaosmythus ist in Israel in einer Form vorhanden gewesen, in der die mythologischen Gestalten der Drachen verschwunden waren, und einfach vom Meere geredet wurde.[20]

Umberto Cassuto has been most influential in establishing, with the evidence of the Ugaritic texts that the poetry of Israel is the product of a heritage reaching back into pre-Israelite Canaan. Israel shared in the established poetic tradition of the ancient Near East. He proposes[21] that the peculiarly Israelite version of the Near Eastern tale of the primordial battle refers to Rahab as the lord of the sea whom Yahweh subdued and killed, so that he might set a bound on the waters (Gen. 1:9).[22] This is represented in Israel as a revolt of one of God's creatures against the Creator rather than as a war between the gods. According to this view, Leviathan and the tanninim are the helpers of Rahab who personifies the rebellious spirit of the sea. "They joined forces with the rebellious lord of the sea and rose up against their Creator, but were compelled in the end to submit to Him.[23]

Nahum M. Sarna agrees that the clichés involved in the combat/creation references in the Bible imply an independent Israelite version of the myth. As he sees it, the association of the battle with creation is Mesopotamian, the Yam-Lotan battle is Canaanite. The combination is Israelite, and was current in oral tradition before it was alluded to in biblical poetry.[24]

An alternative view is provided by Gaster, who regards the Hebrew version of the myth of Yahweh's battle with a monster (or monsters) as an outgrowth of the seasonal pattern exhibited in the Canaanite myth. Introducing the numerous Near Eastern parallels he says,

> As the concept of time develops from the cyclic to the progressive, [the fight of god and dragon] comes to be projected both backward [sic] into cosmogony and forward into eschatology.[25]

The connection with creation is a later development that took place within one tradition, and is not the result of a combination of two fully developed traditions that are distinguishable on the basis of whether or not they are connected with creation. A third alternative that I shall propose is that Gaster's seasonal pattern is a secondary outgrowth of what were originally two creation myths.[26]

Childs maintains that the various strands of Mesopotamian and Canaanite influence are still separable in the biblical references in terms of their association with creation.

> From our fragmentary knowledge of Canaanite mythology, it is evident that the dragon fight existed in various forms. Thus the smiting of Lotan is a different mythical tradition from the battle of Baal and Yam. However, in both these myths the battle is not connected with the original creation of the world. The prophets often reflect dependence on this Canaanite tradition [hence] without reference to the creation (Amos 9:3; Isa. 51:9f.; Isa. 27:1; Nahum 1:3ff.; Hab. 3:8).[27]

Immediately following this statement, however, he appears to accept the evidence of P. Humbert[28] that "In the Old Testament all the references to the dragon fight actually have the one enemy of Yahweh in mind," which would make creation as the basis of distinction impossible.

The question then becomes, which elements in Israel's version of the chaos myth are Canaanite, and here a difference of opinion arises. Childs can say,

> There is now rather general agreement that there is no point of contact between the mythical material of Gen. 1 and that of Ras Shamra[29]

while in Fisher's opinion, the account of the creation in Gen. 1 in terms of separating one part from another conforms to "the creation of the Baal type."[30] Evidently, we need to establish the intent of the myth before speculating about literary dependence.

To return to Cassuto, his reconstruction of the Israelite epic of God's conquest of the sea is based in part on knowledge of the Canaanite myths revealed to us by the Ugaritic texts. However, when he considers the Canaanite tradition by itself, he discovers Mot, the personification of death, to be the chief enemy of Baal, the lord of life. Now, "prince Yam, Judge Nahar, Leviathan, the Serpent, and Dragon," are *Mot's* assistants in the battle.[31] Cassuto rightly observed that there is a conceptual connection between the terms for the nether parts of earth (תחתיות הארץ) and sea. He did not consider whether the difference in emphasis, depending on which is the chief enemy, might be significant.

What Cassuto wants most to establish is that the Baal cycle is more than just a drama of the seasons; "the conception must be broader to account for the richness of the epic." He concludes that

> this conflict between Baal, the god of life, and Mot, the god of death, who contend for dominion over gods and men and over the whole world, is an allegory of the awesome clash between the forces of life and existence and the forces of death and dissolution. . . . The life force prevails . . . though temporarily forced to surrender, it eventually emerges triumphant and rules forever.[32]

Because the conflict is over sovereignty the conflict concludes when Mot is forced to submit to Baal's rule. We surmise from biblical allusions that Yahweh's conflict with Rahab concludes when Rahab is killed. Rahab's death expresses God's sovereignty over the waters.

Given the groundwork provided by Gunkel and Cassuto, the positions of other scholars can be aligned according to 1) how they view the relation between the biblical allusions and the Mesopotamian and Canaanite myths, 2) what they conceive the nature of the enemy to be, and 3) how they interpret the outcome of the battle.

The proof text for the view that Cassuto is attacking is UT, 49:ii:31f. in which Anat grinds up and sows the pieces of Mot. This action has been interpreted by Albright and others as the central rite in a ritual to ensure fertility. "In no ancient mythology do we find such explicit identification of the body of a god with the grain."[33] Cassuto's specific objections are that the pieces are not sown but are eaten by birds ("l tekl ‘ṣrm mnth" l.35) and later Mot, revived, complains to Baal of having been sown on the sea ("dr‘ bym n ph[t] ‘lk]" UT, 49:v:19);[34] also it took Baal seven years to overcome Mot after Mot's resurrection (49:v:9).

Gordon affirms that "fertility is the main concern of the Ugaritic myths,"[35] and accepts the interpretation that Anat plants Mot; "perhaps the fact that he had swallowed Baal explains why Mot's body can function as seed giving rise to life."[36] But, taking his cue from the seven-year droughts which follow the death of Baal (UT, 75:ii:40f.), the death of Athtar (UT, 49:v:9), and the murder of Aqhat (I:42, "Baal failed for seven years") he concludes that "the theme of the dying and reviving gods is not seasonal but 'sabbatical,' having to do with seven-year cycles of fertility and sterility."[37]

Though Gaster also recognizes that it is the sown Mot, reassembled after seven years, that challenges Baal's sovereignty,[38] he nevertheless finds that the complete cycle of myths relating to Baal " is a nature myth and its theme is the [annual] alternation of the seasons."[39] Baal, Yam and Mot are each recognized as sovereign in his own domain. Their contest for dominion symbolizes the alternation of the seasons in the Syro-Palestinian year.[40] The structure of the myth, thus determined, corresponds to the pattern of a ritual which is performed in the autumn "to revive the topocosm."[41] Though he speaks in terms of seasons, the planting of Mot is not essential to Gaster's thesis.

> The conception of the fell spirit was fluid and elastic; . . . In the popular mind he was so much identified with the "adversary" that even the reaping of the grain was regarded as symbolic of his passion.[42]

Driver, in an attempt to reconcile the apparently opposed views of Gordon and Gaster, offers a third alternative:

> The clue to the interpretation of the poem of Baal may be sought in the struggle between Yam-Nahar . . . Athtar and Baal, as the representatives of three types of irrigation, for the vacant throne as viceroy of El.[43]

Gaster's interpretation is more comprehensive than those previously discussed in that he acknowledges the independent importance of the roles of both Yam and Mot. Still, a troublesome sense of inconsistency persists. He interprets the smiting of Yam's head, hand and eyes in the light of the sense these words may have in Semitic as terms for the parts of a river (source, bank, spring), and suggests that the poet sought by choosing them to convey "that the turbulent waters were held in check--the real meaning of the myth."[44] What is meant by "the real meaning of the myth"? Earlier, he had said that Yam is the "personification of evil."[45] Later he says that Anat's thrusting of him into the water can be compared to the seasonal mummeries representing the expulsion of death, who is flung into the water.[46] If Yam can be turbulent water and evil and death, then the distinction between him and Mot dissolves. Consequently, the tripartite division--autumn floods (Yam), rainy season (Baal), summer drought (Mot)[47]--which is the basis of Gaster's thesis, dissolves. If we must make distinctions between the various monsters enumerated by Anat[48] and still find it possible to imply that Yam is interchangeable with Mot, confusion is bound to be the result. It is apparent that consistent identities cannot be established without distorting the evidence. Therefore the significance of the myth will not be found in the literal meaning of the names. Gaster goes too far when he asserts that "the key to the correct interpretation lies in the very names and characters of the protagonists."[49] This objection will be qualified in my conclusion.[50]

Gray tries to incorporate all of these views without facing squarely the difficulties involved in their reconciliation. His summary of the Baal mythology provides a useful pivot for our discussion. Having said "We must emphasize that the creation theme was not part of the Baal-myth, El and not Baal being creator in Canaanite thought,"[51] here he concludes,

> There is a cosmic theme represented by the myth of the conflict between Baal and the Unruly Waters, by which Baal secured kingship and established Cosmos.[52]

The summary continues,

> The myth of the conflict between Baal and Mot, on the other hand, betrays an unmistakable relation to agricultural ritual within the scope of the year

while

> The text Gordon UH 49, which deals with the theme of Baal redivivus, leads up to the myth and ritual conflict possibly connected with the Sabbatical Year.[53]

The battle with Mot is periodic and corresponds to the cycles of nature; the battle with Yam established the kingship of the conqueror of chaos. But what is meant by the "cosmic theme" if creation is not a part of it?

The assumption that the battle between Baal and Yam is or is not a creation myth has given rise to a great deal of confusion. In the most recent summary, Bernard W. Anderson says, "Most Ras Shamra experts agree that the myth of Baal's victory over the waters has no connection with the theme of creation."[54] This is admitted reluctantly by Gray (above) and by Pope:

> The West Semitic Ugaritic myths are much closer to the biblical mythological allusions than is the Babylonian cosmogony . . . there is, however, no motif of creation in connection with the conquest of the sea in the extant Ugaritic texts, as there is in the Babylonian myth.[55]

Jirku can assert that it is a creation myth since he lumps the evidence of the Ugaritic texts and the Old Testament together in order to describe "Canaanite myth." By this means he discovers five versions of the creation myth distinguished according to five names of the sea monster.[56] (He does not consider Mot to have a part in this theme.) Cassuto and Cross both refer to what Cross describes as "the ubiquitous motif of the cosmogonic battle between the creator god and Sea in West Semitic mythology"[57] without specifying how the Ugaritic texts are "cosmogonic."

The most outspoken proponent of the view Anderson takes to be general is Brevard Childs: "In no passage in the Ras Shamra texts does the dragon fight myth have any connection with creation."[58] The assumption that it does, he explains, arose from the fact that biblical passages which are now recognized to have a connection with Canaanite mythology were placed by Gunkel in the framework of the Tiamat myth. We can now see that "as the Hebrews came in contact with Canaanite mythology they used it to fill in this original mythical tradition."[59] What the significance of the non-cosmogonic Canaanite stories is, or why they were suitable for incorporation into the Mesopotamian tradition, Childs does not say.

The confusion on this issue is faced head-on by Loren Fisher in an article entitled, "Creation at Ugarit and In the Old Testament." He finds the question, "Is the conflict between Baal and Yam related to kingship, temple building, or creation?" to be improper, as it implies that the answer must be either/or.

> Those who say "no creation" at Ugarit must have a very narrow definition of creation . . . Some probably mean . . . that there is no . . . description of the process . . . I hope to show in the remainder of this paper that conflict, kingship, ordering of chaos and temple building are all related to an overarching theme that I would call "creation."[60]

His strongest argument is a reiteration of Mowinckel's statement that Baal's temple symbolizes the ordered cosmos.[61] "The new king has a temple which is a microcosm and the ordering of this temple resembles the creation of the cosmos."[62] He adds to this two weaker pieces of evidence; that the kingship of Baal results in 1) ordering the cosmos: the command for peace,[63] and in 2) the regulation of the seasons, which depends on a text about which there is no agreement.[64] However, what is valuable in this analysis is the bold distinction Fisher makes between two conceptions of creation, both of which can appear in the same myth. On the one hand we have El the creator of gods and men, on the other hand there is Baal whose creative activity consists in ordering, which can only be described in terms of a sequence of actions. The pattern: conflict, kingship, temple building, banquet, is typical of this type of creation story, which is more concerned with order than ultimate origins. The possibility of incorporating two different conceptions of creation in one myth was apparently alien to Gray, who again resolved the question in an equivocal statement:

"Baal sustains in conflict with the forces of chaos and sterility what had been created by El."[65] Whether or not the defeat of Yam is a creation story depends, then, 1) on one's definition of a creation story, and 2) on what material one includes in his version of the myth of the defeat of Yam. Child's narrow view of creation and Jirku's broad view of the material account for the radical difference between their conclusions.

Having exposed the difference of opinion on the broadest issue of the significance of Baal's exploits we can now turn to subordinate questions. It follows from these disagreements that there is also a wide divergence of opinion about the nature of Baal's enemie(s) and/or the relation between them. The spectrum ranges all the way from regarding Mot as chief enemy in a periodic conflict concerning agricultural fertility, to regarding Yam as chief enemy in a primordial battle the outcome of which was the creation of the cosmos. Gordon is of the opinion that

> The meteorological history of Canaan where Baal was pitted against Mot in the minds of the people required the concept that the conflict between the two gods took place repeatedly.[66]

Jirku, on the other hand, finds that the essential part of the Canaanite creation myth is the fight of the gods with the sea monster, which was current in five different versions, one each for Tehom, Yam, Leviathan, Rahab and Tannin.

Variant traditions may be distinguished on the basis of name,[67] nature,[68] or fate.[69] If Anat's list justifies considering many names to belong to one version, then the subsidiary monsters might be arranged in a hierarchy as helpers of Mot, or as helpers of Yam. Though Cassuto accords comprehensive significance to Baal's battles, he regards Mot as his chief adversary. The watery nature of Mot's assistants reflects "the Near Eastern belief that the sea and its monsters are symbols of destructive forces opposed to the god of creation."[70] Pope, on the other hand, regards Yam as the principle antagonist, though he finds no clear allusion to cosmic creativity in the Ugaritic texts.[71] His thesis is that El, having been deposed by Baal, has commissioned Prince Sea to overthrow Baal so that he may be reinstated, much in the same way that Kumarbi raised up the stone pillar Ullikummi to overthrow Teshub.[72] Regarding Yam's helpers his statement is careful:

> In the Ugaritic version of the myth which describes the battle between Baal and Prince Sea, there is no mention of sea's allies. The goddess ʿAnat, however, as Baal's ally, boasts in another myth of having defeated a series of monsters along with Prince Sea.[73]

Since El's base of operations is the underworld, according to Pope,[74] this comes as close as any view I know of to suggesting that Mot may be one of Yam's helpers.[75]

The various manifestations of evil[76] need not be subordinate to a primarily "wet" *or* a primarily "dry" adversary. Yam and Mot are given independent status as two different types of enemy by Gaster; or, the two are recognized to be different ways of describing the same problem. Cross says

> It may be observed that the struggle between Baal and Yam is *paralleled* in Ugaritic by the struggle between Baal and Mot. Cassuto and Albright have also noted the occurrence of מות as Death personified (i.e. *as a sea-dragon*) in Hab. 3:13.[77]

Cross' assumption of the primacy of the sea as a symbol is conditioned by the material with which he is dealing. Albright's view from a more central perspective, which gives primacy to neither Yam nor Mot, is that Hab. 3:8-15 is an adaptation from a Canaanite poem "celebrating the triumph of Baal over Judge River, Prince Sea and Death, all apparently serving as variant names of a *single primordial dragon of chaos*."[78]

When it comes to the biblical allusions there is general agreement with Gunkel that the adversary is related to the sea, and that the battle is connected with creation.[79] Cassuto names Rahab as Israel's "Prince Sea."[80] Pope says "Rahab is one of the marine monsters slain by Yahweh in the course of his defeat of the sea-god,"[81] acknowledging that "the details of the myths are so variable that it is impossible to reconstruct a canonical version."[82] Gaster agrees, "a noticeable variation in details makes it uncertain that the biblical allusions all reflect the same tradition"[83] and notes that some scholars regard Rahab, Leviathan, Tannin, as alternative names of Yam ("Sir Sea").[84] Only Dahood makes anything of Cassuto's observation that Mot also appears as "the enemy" in the Old Testament.[85]

The ambiguous fate of Baal's enemy is a matter of special interest only to Gaster, who follows Gunkel's lead. As he retells the story, Baal knocked Yam senseless, Anat drove him into the sea, Asherah fetched him out and bound him in a net, and Baal finished him off after his palace was built.[86] However, since Yam is finally equated with the spirit of the subterranean waters who threatens to flood the earth but is reined in by the weather god,[87] the meaning of these various degrees of collapse is unclear.[88] What it boils down to is that the death of Yam represents the control of the waters, as Gunkel and Cassuto have said regarding the biblical material. Death on one level of reality corresponds to capture on another. But of course the hierarchy of levels immediately dissolves, killed and captured "versions" appear side by side, are woven together, and significance is attached to the combined form so that it is not possible to say whether the distinction is primary or merely a result of logical analysis.

Regarding the fate of the monster there is again no agreement. Cassuto says, "Though temporarily forced to surrender, the life force eventually emerges triumphant and rules forever."[89] As against this, Fisher says,

> One difference between the Hebrew and the Canaanite belief was that at least for some of the Hebrews Yahweh would never suffer defeat, and he would never forsake.[90]

Whether the enemy is Yam, Mot, both together or alternately, is his defeat permanent as Cassuto implies, or does he survive, awaiting a chance to take vengeance on his captor? Fisher implies that he remains a threat. This possibility must be assumed by Gordon, who cites the incantation bowls as evidence that "the people of Babylonia and Canaan . . . believed that God had actually placed Leviathan under an effective ban,"[91] a view widely current in the rabbinic literature. If the death of Yam corresponds to checking the waters as Gaster says then his capture would signify that the rein might some day be slaked.

Finally, there appears to be no correlation between views regarding the nature, number and fate of the enemy. One might expect, for instance, that those who see in Baal's exploits a creation story would regard the enemy as watery and his demise as permanent. In fact, his capture is not necessarily assumed by those who regard the battle to be periodic, and the death of the monster does not necessarily imply that he will not need to be fought again. Myths are like dreams in that several structures, each coping with a different problem, may be superimposed, overlapping in such a way as to elude classification and to make inconsistencies of interpretation unavoidable. The endeavor in talking about myths is, then, to find a perspective suitable to the question in hand.

The general purpose which this thesis is intended to serve is to gain a richer understanding of Israel's mythological heritage. The specific inquiry concerns one myth, the battle between god and monster. As noted when comparing the views of Fisher and Childs regarding Gen. 1,[92] any definition of the relation of Israel's myths to those of her neighbors must depend on conclusions about meaning. Therefore I have sought a stance distant enough to allow the essential structure of the battle myth to emerge from the undergrowth and yet close enough so that something meaningful may be said regarding that structure in particular, as distinguished from any others. At this point, having exposed the significant points of disagreement among scholars concerned with this myth as it appears in the Bible and at Ugarit, I present my position as it has evolved in the search for that stance.

First of all, I would agree with those who follow Cassuto in postulating a peculiarly Israelite form of the ancient Near Eastern myth. Its closest affinities are with the Mesopotamian and Canaanite traditions, and the association of the monster with the sea outweighs (though without excluding) the association with the earth.

However, I would disagree with those who deny that the Canaanite myth of Baal's defeat of Yam is a creation story. Fundamental to the idea of creation is the activity of separating, ordering, structuring the parts which are won from "the monster" or structurelessness. What "beginning" means is formation, the definition of an order, and this surely is achieved by Baal in the establishment of his rule following the defeat of Yam. Sharing Fisher's general point of view, I feel a stronger case can be made in its support now that the myths of Israel's neighbors about the battle with a monster have been aligned. Once the battle is recognized to be creative, Childs' distinction between biblical passages that do or do not imply creation becomes meaningless.[93]

It follows from this understanding of the meaning of the myth that the enemy, whatever his manifestations, is essentially one. This assumption is the starting point in the attempt to hew out a consistent point of view which can serve to discipline interpretation of the many and changing details. However: Should formlessness assume a consistent form it would betray its nature; therefore the *ḫuršan* and Tiamat are neither sea nor mountain; the dragon is neither bird, beast nor fish, but all at once. Acceptance of the essential identity of Yam and Mot[94] supports rather than contradicts the various attempts to explain his many names. The many names may *at the same time* indicate the provenance of particular variants,[95] figure as subordinates of one chief monster,[96] or be regarded as the many names of one being, all of which must be invoked to control the monster.[97]

In Canaan, two different ways of describing the victory of cosmos have been combined so as to emphasize its relation to the hazards of the agricultural year. A similar combination emphasizes creativity in terms of sex in Mesopotamia (Tiamat, f. and Apsu, m.), government of sea and land in Job's (and rabbinical) portraits of Leviathan and Behemoth. The names Yam and Mot mean "cosmic waters" and "death," so much I grant to Gaster, but an interpretation which takes these meanings as its foundation is bound to reduce the poem to the "mere literary allegory" that he denies.[98] It is precisely because "both its structure and its sequence correspond . . . to those of the Ritual Pattern" that is well-known and wide-spread that I insist upon searching out the "wider mythological significance"[99] of the Poem of Baal, rather than settling for interpretation in terms of the weather. The myth serves to relate the natural to the human world by means of a third reality, thus making nature significant.

Finally, the ambiguity that Gaster notes as to the outcome of the battle, especially concerning the fate of the monster, is so widespread that explanation of it in terms of variants is no longer satisfactory. The significance of the ambiguity itself must be recognized and interpreted. I suspect that this ambiguity falls together with the frequent exchange of attributes and activities between monster and hero as a way of acknowledging the profound truth of faith that after all the Devil is God.

> The creative act, which distinguishes, separates, measures and puts in order, is inseparable from the criminal act that puts an end to the life of the oldest gods, inseparable from a deicide inherent in the divine.[100]

"In the final analysis, evil is not an accident that upsets a previous order; it belongs constitutionally to the foundation of order."[101] Thus

> order borrows from primordial violence the impulsion by which it gains the victory. And the earlier disorder survives its defeat in a thousand figures . . . Everywhere there rise up the formless, the terrible, the irresistible[102]

to test man's strength of faith, to challenge his myth-making powers, to provoke his ability to affirm and thus to incorporate within the order of his will what cannot be denied except at the risk of chaos.

Notes to Chapter III

1. Pp. 32, 54.
2. Pp. 53, 60.
3. Pp. 34f., 42.
4. Pp. 35, 56.
5. If one helper: Tannin, Behemoth; like Kingu. If helpers: rahabim, tanninim; like Tiamat's monsters, the animals of the Zodiac (Pp. 38, 69f).
6. P. 35.
7. P. 37.
8. Pp. 43, 77, 113.
9. Pp. 39, 51.
10. P. 29-90.
11. P. 91-111.
12. References to support these statements appear in Gunkel's summary, p. 83-86.
13. P. 95f.
14. P. 113.
15. P. 84.
16. P. 74, Pharaoh's claim, Ez. 29:3; which amounts to the same thing, perhaps.
17. P. 77, Ps. 74, Ez. 32.
18. P. 86.
19. P. 88f.
20. P. 110.
21. "The Epic Poetry of Israel."
22. Genesis, p. 36f.

23. Ibid., p. 50.

24\.

> The fact that the prophets occasionally use the combat myth without reference to creation does not in the least imply a dependence upon Canaanite tradition. It is simply that by the natural process of artistic development the myth has undergone degeneration and its language become used as a mere literary convention. In some instances the very inextricability of the association of combat and cosmogony may itself be responsible for the absence of the one or the other, the missing element being tacitly assumed. ("The Psalm for the Sabbath Day," p. 163.)

25. Thespis, p. 137.

26. See below, p. III-1-21.

27. Myth and Reality, p. 37, n. 3.

28. AO, XI, p. 235-237 as noted by Childs, ibid.

29. "A Study of Myth," p. 25.

30. P. 324.

31. "Baal and Mot," p. 84.

32. Ibid., p. 86.

33. From the Stone Age to Christianity (2n ed., Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1957), p. 232.

34. Loewenstamm shows tha drʿ means "scatter" rather than "sow" in these two passages as the cognate זרע does in Hebrew, Ju. 9:45; Za. 10:9 ("The Ugaritic Fertility Myth"). See note II-111-33.

35. MAW, p. 184.

36. Ibid., p. 212.

37. Ibid., p. 184.

38. The Oldest Stories in the World (Boston: Beacon Press, 1952), p. 224.

39. Thespis, p. 124.
40. Ibid., p. 126.
41. Ibid., p. 17.
42. Ibid., p. 131f.
43. P. 20.
44. Thespis, p. 171f.
45. Ibid., p. 128.
46. Ibid., p. 175.
47. Ibid., p. 126.
48. Ibid., p. 145.
49. Ibid., p. 124.
50. See below, p. III-1-21.
51. John Gray, The Legacy of Canaan (2d ed. rev., Vetus Testamentum Supplement V; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 22.
52. Ibid., p. 90.
53. Ibid., p. 92.
54. P. 25.
55. Job, p. 60.
56. Pp. 11, 28.
57. "The Divine Warrior," p. 16.
58. "A Study of Myth," p. 25.
59. Ibid., p. 37, n. 3.
60. P. 315f.
61. The Psalms, Vol. I, p. 134 as noted by Fisher, Ibid.
62. Fisher, p. 319

63. ʿnt IV:53, which is also given by El, ʿnt pl. ix: LL:19.

64. UT, 51:v:69.

65. P. 155.

66. MAW, p. 195.

67. Jirku.

68. Wet or dry, Childs, A Study of Myth, p. 20.

69. Killed or captured, Gunkel.

70. "Baal and Mot," p. 84.

71. El in the UT, p. 49.

72. See above, p. I-ii-7; El in the UT, p. 93.

73. Job, p. 70.

74. El, like Alalu and Kronos, exercises what control he has from "underground" in both the political and cosmological sense. (El in the UT, p. 95.)

75. Pope's analysis has the advantage of recognizing the three-cornered power struggle in which Yam, Baal and Mot have parts like Poseidon, Zeus and Hades (Ibid., p. 29), as well as explaining the special significance of Yam as the monster by the analogy with the Hittite story. The generational conflict in which Yam is the tool of "the father" is superimposed on the seasonal pattern (which, in turn, is constructed out of two ways of conceiving the withholding monster, see above, p. I-iii-9).

76. Gordon, MAW, p. 200.

77. Cross and Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving--II Sam. 22 = Psalm 18," _JBL_, LXXII (1953), p. 15-34; p. 30, n. 78 (Italics mine).

78. "The Psalm of Habakkuk."

79. Childs excepts those passages which depend on the Canaanite tradition without reference to creation, see above, p. III-1-5f.

80. After the Rabbis, see _note_ II-1-25.

81. _Job_, p. 70.

82. _Ibid_., p. 61.

83. _Thespis_, p. 142.

84. _Ibid_., p. 145.

85. _Psalms I_, pp. xxxvi, 77, 105.

86. _Oldest Stories_, p. 213f.

87. _Thespis_, p. 445.

88. If the death of Yam is what changed Baal's mind about the window (_Ibid_., p. 193), then Asherah's protest (_Ibid_., p. 169) was not significant. The only way one can claim significance for both acts is to acknowledge that uncertainty as to the fate of Yam is part of the intention of the myth.

89. "Baal and Mot," p. 86.

90. P. 324.

91. "Leviathan," p. 9.

92. See above, p. III-1-6.

93. See above, _note_ 24.

94. Recognized by Albright, Cassuto, Cross; suggested but not followed up by Childs, see above, p. II-iii-11.

95. Jirku.

96. Gunkel.

97. Montgomery, see above, *note* II-i-49.

98. *Thespis*, p. 128.

99. *Ibid*., p. 83.

100. Ricoeur, p. 180, and see *note* I-ii-61.

101. *Ibid*., p. 198.

102. *Ibid*., p. 207f.

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